View metadata, citation and similar papers at core.ac.uk

brought to you by CORE

provided by St. Cloud State University

St. Cloud State University

theRepository at St. Cloud State

Culminating Projects in TESL

Department of English

12-2019

Globalized Language Culture in the Localized Postsojourn Context: Returnee Brazilian English Language Learners' Strategies and Processes for Forming and Negotiating L2 Identity

Madeline Wildeson
St. Cloud State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.stcloudstate.edu/tesl_etds

Recommended Citation

Wildeson, Madeline, "Globalized Language Culture in the Localized Postsojourn Context: Returnee Brazilian English Language Learners' Strategies and Processes for Forming and Negotiating L2 Identity" (2019). *Culminating Projects in TESL*. 20.
https://repository.stcloudstate.edu/tesl_etds/20

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of English at theRepository at St. Cloud State. It has been accepted for inclusion in Culminating Projects in TESL by an authorized administrator of theRepository at St. Cloud State. For more information, please contact rswexelbaum@stcloudstate.edu.

Globalized Language Culture in the Localized Postsojourn Context: Returnee Brazilian English Language Learners' Strategies and Processes for Forming and Negotiating L2 Identity

by

Madeline Wildeson

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

St. Cloud State University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in English: Teaching English as a Second Language

December, 2019

Committee Members
James Robinson, Chairperson
Michael Schwartz
Eddah Mutua

Abstract

This qualitative study investigates the process of identity negotiation and formation of 10 Brazilian English language learners (ELLs). Participants were asked to share their experiences in formal as well as informal English language learning environments, and to discuss how these experiences potentially impacted their ability to create an imagined identity and join an imagined community of the target language. Data was generated through comprehensive semi-structured interviews with ten ELLs who have either attended university or professional-level English classes in Brazil and/or in an English-speaking country, but have also spent extensive time (at least 1 month) in an English-speaking country. Participants completed a brief demographic and language learning experience inventory and a post-interview verbal questionnaire about their experience of the interview itself. The researcher used an interview guide with definitions of key terms, notes, and the completed inventories during the interviews, and email-correspondence and to clarify certain responses. Data analysis will follow strategies of grounded theory and content analysis, with a special poststructuralist theoretical focus on imagined communities (Norton, 2010) and the call to decolonize English language teaching (Morgan & Ramanathan, 2005). The findings show that participants view informal language learning contexts as much as more instrumental in formation and negotiation of their identities, and that learning English in these two contexts and globally and locally has different consequences for not only language acquisition but also access to opportunities and agency in the target language community as well as the reentry in the home context. Participants used a variety of identity negotiative and constructive strategies and had complex, critically self-reflective metacognitive descriptions of their process of identity negotiation or change over time and space.

Acknowledgements

This research would not be possible without the relentless support of those closest to me. I wish to thank my loving, dedicated, and brilliant rhetorician parents who taught me to think deeply about the world and to demystify the "other" in every aspect of my life. I wish to thank the incredible participants of this research who gave such eloquent and captivating language learning narratives and thought through difficult and complex questions with me. It is my hope their stories can help form new pedagogical practices in language learning anchored in hybridity, liberation, and critical self-reflection. In the same breath I want to express my deepest gratitude to the thesis committee members Drs. Jim Robinson, Michael Schwartz, and Eddah Mutua. I also wish thank specially thank those who have mentored me in applied linguistics and rhetoric; to Drs. Michael Schwartz and Edward Sadrai for helping me grow into this field both professionally and intellectually; to Dr. James Heiman in Rhetoric and Composition for first showing me Paulo Freire and then showing me the power of critical pedagogy; to Dr. Sharon Cogdill who has been my tireless advocate and pushed me to think multimodaly; and to Drs. Tim Fountaine and Carol Mohrbacher for guiding me through the horizontal, relational praxis of writing centers. I am constantly grateful for my wonderfully engaged students who have taught me so much.

Finally, I wish to thank my querido Fábio—o amor da minha vida. We love each other from the opposite sides of the world, through joy, pain, and deep, crippling solitude, but that love is strong, and any day now, the future will look more kindly on us as we start a new life together.

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

Chapter Page

List of Tables

Chapter I: Introduction

Viva as inúteis conquistas da linguagem!

[Long live our futile conquests of language!]

(Caetano Veloso[1])

One does not need to read about the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, or even study linguistics to observe how language is deterministic of the ways in which we give and interpret meaning in the world. The language we possess, and use, is also responsible for forming the ways we give and interpret meaning about ourselves. Language and identity are inextricably linked. As the connections between people, their knowledge, and the social contexts from which they emerge become more complexly and richly linked, the more flexible both language and identity will need to become within and between individuals. This study seeks to examine the psychosocial processes at work in history in one highly contested site of confluence of intercultural, inter-linguistic identity negotiation: that of Brazilian English language learners who have returned home from a long-term sojourn in an immersive experience.

I stand with fellow researchers in the belief that conducting research can never be a neutral activity, especially in areas of the social sciences, such as linguistics. When we study human behavior, we necessarily incorporate the subjective perceptions and belief systems of those involved in the research, both as researchers and as subjects (Nunan, 1992, p. 54). Because I chose to conduct a qualitative study, using verbal narratives shared through interviews as the basis for my data, I think it is pertinent to tell my own story as a language learner, as it has proven to be the originating source of how I have approached my research both conceptually, in

[1] From sleeve notes for album Barra 69, reprinted in Salomão (ed.), *Alegria, Alegria*, 28.

how I have formed my research questions and thought about the gaps in existing studies in this area, and methodologically, in how I was able to craft the design of my study and reframe a typical interview into an open, phenomenological dialogue where there is knowledge-sharing between the participants and the interviewer. The emphasis on two-way sharing of inter-lingual and intercultural experiences is fundamental for both participants and researchers to be able to verbalize and simultaneously reflect about these experiences. By looking specifically at the reflections and the choice of language participants have chosen to relate their stories, the overwhelming and intangible task of discussing identity becomes clearer to express and trace.

By chance or design, I was born into a personhood that is defined by multiplicity in language. As the daughter of teachers who are rhetoricians and rhetoricians who are teachers, I have learned to be conscious of the power of language from my first memories. Because of the extensive periods of my childhood immersed in Japanese at a preschool in the city of Akita while my parents taught at a university, my young mind was formed to be open to multiple codes, multiple realities, and to the world itself. I recall very little that is concrete from those times, as I was only 5 years old when we returned to the United States. I do remember some fleeting existential moments in which I would reaffirm the idea that I was not Japanese, but that I was also at once completely at home in the language, because for me to speak it with those around me was itself a confirmation of who I thought myself to be. I believe my experience, however limited, is echoed by many others who fell somewhere on the continuum of (if only potential) bilingualism as children. Later on, after a semester-long stint abroad in China at the age of 10 in which I was “exposed” to Mandarin but was not required to learn it, I studied Spanish and Chinese in middle and high school back in the United States.

The way I encountered other languages at this time was nearly the opposite of my experience in Japan. Neither Spanish nor Chinese was relevant to my life in the United States, and I struggled to grasp both a metalinguistic appreciation and access to the right cultural knowledge that is so often required in exercise of language learning. Speaking in class felt contrived and like an activity of ridicule. My Spanish teachers failed to connect with their students because of their non-native speaker status and resulting lack of authenticity. My Chinese teacher was not able to comprehensibly explain the deep linguistic rifts between English and Mandarin Chinese with her low proficiency in English. Because of these factors, and also my own inability and unwillingness to move past them, learning foreign languages in the classroom had little impact on my identity.

Perhaps predictably, this all changed when I had the chance to use Spanish in an immersive L2 context. Before my senior year of high school, I was given the opportunity to travel to Colombia on a volunteer service trip with other students from my hometown, for whom English was their native language. We worked alongside local adults and teenagers on the majority of our projects, thus creating a situational exigency for intercultural and bilingual collaboration. The patience, openness, and sincerity in the welcomes of our Colombian hosts overwhelmed and humbled me to my core. So powerful was their embrace of our presence, that I became determined to show them my appreciation and acknowledgement of my positionality as a fortunate outsider by doing what at that time I decided was the absolute minimum: closing the linguistic gap. The intensive listening, simultaneous translation, and genuine expression of myself in Spanish transformed my perspective on language performance. My repeated, purposeful choices to make myself vulnerable and engage in the other language allowed me to

confirm what I had already learned as a little girl in Japan, and effectively cross over the threshold of the fear of failure in the adopting of another linguistic code as a way to another self.

After my 1-month trip, I returned to the U.S. invigorated and re-formed. My experience pushed me eventually to expand my linguistic repertoire to include Spanish, Arabic, and then Portuguese during my undergraduate work. I studied at an American university in Madrid, Spain for five semesters and was witness to the evolution of my linguistic identity from a translated self to a multilingual one. Living and studying abroad in two equally regarded lingua francas—Spanish and English—made me begin to conceptualize my identity as irrevocably global and cosmopolitan. English was never the default mode of communication, as most of my international classmates were fluent in other languages beyond these two, so in this way, they modeled their global identities for the American cohort of students for whom this was previously neither an accessible nor celebrated reality. By later studying Arabic and Portuguese, I felt like I joined this imaginary community of people (Norton, 2010), who globally identify themselves through, and in part because of, the complexity of their multilingualism. Continuing to live, work, and build new relationships in the Arabian gulf and later in Brazil for extended periods after university only further augmented the intricacies of my self-concept and its relationship to language learning.

The meaningfulness of my lifelong language learning journey has driven me to become an educator and researcher in this area. In being a student and now a teacher of language in formal learning contexts, and the performer of several languages in informal ones, I have come to understand myself as an actor who negotiates a highly complex process of meaning-making between and among many cultural-linguistic systems. The inspiration for this research project comes from a desire to hear from others about their experiences in the ways they have had to

negotiate their own identities in terms of language, culture, and the overlaps between the two. It also seeks to look further into the contextualized matrices between global and local social constructions of reality, and the role of the learning process that is superimposed upon these areas. Exchanging these stories and reflecting upon them is not only an intellectual exercise in memory, it also helps frame future experiences in which we must step outside of ourselves in order to better understand how we must adapt to new complexities in our changing world.

Accessing a Cultural-Linguistic Exchange with Brazil

There are many points of entry that lead from culture to language and vice versa. Literature, cuisine, films, and personal relationships are often some of the first that come mind. Music has always been one of the most important and meaningful ways for me to engage in another language and culture simultaneously, and has essentially become the primary point of access through which I begin to study new languages. This is perhaps because I sing and play musical instruments myself, but I think more importantly because of how it becomes a kind of superconductor for the musicality of that other language itself. Listening to music in another language allows one to analyze how its sounds are mapped onto its meanings and the timing of their articulations because of how they are aligned in our universal inclination toward rhythm and tone. Music also communicates morphological, syntactical, and pragmatic features in an interpretive mode which then communicates much about the culture from which it has been developed. Of course, some cultures/languages give higher value to and investment in music as an art form or practice than others. Because I believe Brazil/Brazilian Portuguese is one of these, I have felt drawn to its musical aesthetic, and it has had an important influence on not only my learning of the language, but also the formation of my imagined identity within the community of Brazilian Portuguese speakers.

Native of Bahia, singer-songwriter, activist, intellectual, and *tropicalista*, Caetano Veloso is one of the first Brazilian musical artists I listened to when I was studying in Spain. I was enraptured by his voice the moment I heard him sing, and soon discovered that with my knowledge of Spanish I could make out the meaning in many of his lyrics, but felt lost in a sea of culturally specific references that I would only begin to understand when I lived in Brazil in 2016. In truth, there is very little that I knew about Brazil before arriving there that was based in reality. The image of Brazil in the world, which is to say, the image of Brazil as viewed by the United States and then shared in the world, is at once over-simplistic and enigmatic. From the Monroe Doctrine, to Big Stick policy, to the first moment Carmen Miranda appeared on film preceding World War II, Latin America has been represented as an exotic fruit; inconstant, and a familiar escape into the delight of chaos. I have personally witnessed how Brazil is rarely distinguished from its neighbors in this perennial narrative whenever I tell people about my experiences there and they reply with complete shock that "at least you know Spanish" and how the "guacamole and tacos must be very good there." Though relatively better informed, I too have seen many of my own pre-sojourn assumptions about the culture to be distant from reality. What I was to find was a country that in many areas appeared as a reflection of my own in a partially distorted mirror. This is perhaps most keenly expressed in the way that Brazilians interact with what I observe they imagine the rest of the world to be. The country and its people perform their positionality in globalization as at once aware of the outsider narratives and disconnected from them; both deeply situated in the isolation required for reinventing the macrocosm of Brazil, and looking outwards when its own troubles become stifling.

The tension between Brazil and "the world" is perhaps most keenly viewed in the realm of language performance, a reality illuminated insightfully by Veloso his memoir, *Verdade*

Tropical [*Tropical Truth*]. Veloso talks about the origins of the radically syncretic *Tropicália* pop culture movement which he co-created in the 1960s, his experience in exile in London during the dictatorship, and the ways these experiences impacted his identity and career after his return to Brazil. Having been exposed to English in Brazil and then learning it out of necessity abroad, he discusses the tension between languages and selves. Veloso remembers his dabbling in songwriting in English as "representing a curious turn in the history of [his] relations with international culture as guided by the English language," claiming:

> To a mind that has evolved within the circumference of Portuguese, English is as strange as any language could be to a human being. And its abiding presence, far from mitigating that strangeness, often only intensifies it: from hearing so many songs whose sounds became familiar, even as their meaning remains obscure; from seeing so many subtitled films, we become inured to English as a gibberish that is part of life, without requiring any effort on our part to make it intelligible. (p. 280)

Brazil has been no exception to what Veloso calls the "bombardment of English as an international language" across the world (p. 277). For most of the 20th and 21st centuries Brazilian radio stations played more music in English than in Portuguese and created entire markets based on products, ads and merchandise with packaging, slogans and design in English. Veloso adeptly notes a unique trait in Brazil's consumption of these cultural products:

> We had the right use it [English] as we could…[to] answer with our own poorly learned English, making it the instrument of protest against the very usage being imposed on us, [while] at the same time we also wanted to establish a dialogue with the outside world. It was a naïve attempt at international communication, a way of trying to let some air into the shuttered universe that is Brazil. (Veloso, 2002, p. 277)

In this way, the re-appropriation of foreign linguistic forms becomes an act that is profoundly both subversive and a connecting bid. He goes on to admit that while he was eager to consume and reconstruct British and American rock into the Brazilian Popular Music, or MPB (Música Popular Brasileira), he never expected international success or life abroad, much less in an English-speaking country. While he was able to calculate the potential benefits, he was shy and unmotivated at the thought of going to the United States. However, he recognized that Brazil needed, (and to this day needs) to "engage in candid dialogues with the world at large, if it is ever to be rid of all that has kept it closed in upon itself" (p. 278).

An increasingly globalized world has at once facilitated our ability to connect and communicate in spite of our linguistic and cultural differences. It has also created a new urgency to do it in a way that emphasizes individual authenticity and capacity to be critical. To assume this task, we must engage in our instantiated or practiced transnational and inter-lingual sharing in new and increasingly self-reflective ways. I read Veloso's observations as a desire to meet somewhere in the middle. He describes the songs he wrote in English before and during his exile like "a cry for help in reverse: I addressed some of my imaginary interlocutors in the world out there, and as I described the poverty and solitude of being Brazilian, I asked for help, begging them to tell me their names so I could tell them who I was" (p. 277). At a time in history when world powers are shifting, and tolerant coexistence amongst individuals so often hinges on intercultural competency and personal diplomacy, I can think of no greater purpose for language learning.

Statement of Problem and Purpose of Study

Theoretical frameworks on identity offer the field of language learning a useful starting place in which the individual language learner and the larger social world can be understandably

integrated. Identity theorists question the view, often employed in the evaluation of language learning, that learners should be defined in traditional binary psychological models—motivated or unmotivated, introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited. They claim this comes at the neglect of affective factors which are socially constructed according to relations of power, time and space, while possibly coexisting within a single individual. As language learners acquire L2 forms, meanings, and usages, they also may develop more desirable identities with respect to the target language community (Norton, 2010).

Because of this, teachers and researchers in SLA would be remiss if they did not address how relations of time, space, and particularly power in the social world affect learners' access to the target language community, or where the target language is used. Learners who may be marginalized in one site may be highly valued in another. The opportunities to practice the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing (summarized subsequently as what I have termed *language performance*) acknowledged as central to the SLA process, are then socially structured in both formal and informal sites of language learning. This has important implications for the conditions under which learners perform the target language, and have an impact on opportunities for continued language acquisition.

As Norton (2010) acknowledges: in terms of language, "identity, practices, and resources are mutually constitutive" (p. 354). She suggests that identity is influenced by language practices common to institutions such as "homes, schools and workplaces," which by logical extension would include engagement in language performance in technology-based language learning platforms and in cultural products (2010, p. 355). A closer examination of these practices and resources within their contexts, and of learners' differential access to and use of those practices and resources, can show some of the ways identities are produced and negotiated. On the other

hand, structural conditions and social contexts are not entirely responsible for language learning or use. By identifying ways to engage their own agency, language learners who struggle to speak from one identity position may be able to reframe their relationship with others and claim alternative, more powerful identities from which to perform language, and thereby enhance language acquisition.

Norton (2010) and other scholars in this area have argued that the sociological construct of *investment* is a relevant alternative to the widely acknowledged psychological construct of *motivation* in SLA because it focuses on the complexity of the relationship between language learner identity and language learning commitment. In this way, she argues that language learners may be highly motivated but may nevertheless have little investment in the language practices of a given classroom or community. The classroom environment, for example, may possess qualities that discourage language practice, such as those which are racist, sexist, elitist or homophobic (Norton, 2010, p. 356). Alternatively, the language practices of the classroom may not be consistent with learner expectations of good teaching, with equally dire results for language learning. However, a learner who is invested in a given set of language practices may have a higher likelihood of being a motivated language learner (Norton, 2013). Investment has thus become an important explanatory construct in language learning and teaching.

Beyond investment, another factor in developing linguistic identity is the role imagination as Cummins, Norton, and Pavlenko describe in their concepts of *imagined communities* and *imagined identities* (Cummins, 2007). In many language classrooms, the target language community may be, to some extent, limited by a reconstruction of past communities and historically constituted relationships, but also a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future. In this way, the imagined community

assumes an imagined identity, and a learner's investment in the target language can be understood within this context (Cummins, 2007). Any exploration into linguistic identity development in a particular sociolinguistic context, such as a second language learning educational policy or decree, should examine these processes.

As argued by Morgan and Ramanathan (2005), Norton (2010), Canagarajah (2000, 2004,2005) and others, language educators need to discover ways to decolonize English language teaching by expanding the range of identities for English language learners. More SLA research should try to address how power can limit learners' access to the target language community, and thus to opportunities to put language skills to use, either in professional contexts, travel, or participation in "global culture." The following research is interested in looking deeper into the ways that one specific group of English language learners (Brazilians) struggle for agency as they negotiate the multiplicity of their identity(ies) in the language learning process for a language that is itself complexly situated in global and local language policy contexts.

English as a foreign language is a required subject in most primary and secondary education contexts and also plays an important role in many post-secondary institutions in Brazil. However, despite its implicit prominence in national public and private education as a foreign language, it is continually reported that many students are not able to achieve beginning reading skills by the end of secondary education (Mota Pereira, 2016). This inconsistency has been attributed to varying pedagogical factors that plague other EFL learning contexts around the world, such as the overemphasis of grammar structures and neglect of authentic intercultural language use contexts (Mota Pereira, 2016). It can be argued that even in ideal formal learning environments, Brazilian EFL learners may still struggle to acquire high levels of proficiency

because of the lack of access to opportunities in which English is a practical necessity or access to the target language community in general because of socioeconomic, racial, regional, or other exclusionary characteristics. Because of this, many Brazilian ELLs make sacrifices to travel, work or study abroad in search of such language acquisition environments—from which they must inevitably return when they have achieved their purpose.

Whereas much of the current literature on identity and language for such learners focuses on either ELLs abroad or EFL learners in their home countries, this thesis attempts to examine the liminal and tenuous positionality of L2 learner linguistic identity(ies) when they go back to Brazil after having experienced English abroad and at home, and have also become responsible for their own learning outside of formal language learning contexts. By examining how Brazilian English language learners form and negotiate their imagined L2 identities in response to overlaps in localized and global culture as delineated by language, we can perhaps gain a better understanding of what constitutes "successful" or meaningful second language acquisition. By defining language learning in terms of agency, we are critically addressing how engaging in English as a lingua franca or a global language may come to be a requirement for economic, social, and political upward mobility, and possibly survival.

Research Questions

As Norton (2010) admits, research on the relationship between language and identity tends to be qualitative rather than quantitative, and often draws on critical ethnography, feminist poststructuralist theory, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology, in seeking to determine both questions and methods. Qualitative inquiry through conversational interviews as the ability to yield insights relative to self-conscious awareness fo language learners' processes. The research questions therefore attempt to elicit data by way of learner narratives of L2 learning

experiences and the strategies they use in their L2 learning, as well as the reflections of those learners on their L2 identity formation process in both formal and informal language learning contexts at home and abroad.

1. What strategies do adult English language learners use to form and negotiate imagined L2 identities and imagined L2 communities in formal and informal sites of language learning?
2. How do ELLs from Brazil understand and view the negotiation of their imagined L2 identities in global and localized contexts?

Chapter II: Literature Review

To better frame and support the exploratory research presented in this thesis, this section will present some of the seminal theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches that have informed preceding research in the study of the intersection of identity and language learning. First, I will discuss theoretical perspectives on language and present the definition of identity (within second language acquisition) that I will utilize to situate my research. As context plays a key role in the framing and design of this thesis research, the subsections thereafter will outline "Global Englishes," English as a Lingua Franca, and English and EFL in the Brazilian context. Next, I will discuss the major paradigms developed by post-structuralist and sociocultural theorists at the forefront of research about language and identity. Finally, I will compare current and particularly relevant studies about Bilingualism, Language Learning, and Identity for Brazilian language learners and in other populations. Together, all subsections form the theoretical framework that will help situate this study of Brazilian English language learners' imagined L2 identities and communities in an English as a foreign language context within the greater dialogic that began with post-structuralist research in the area of language and identity several decades ago.

Theoretical Perspectives on Language: Towards Poststructuralism

As long as language has existed between both individuals and communities, the meanings it conveys, the forms that are used to convey said meaning and the contexts into which these forms and meanings are used as interpretive heuristics have always been contested. The epistemological frameworks that have been developed to help us think about these abstractions are held at odds even today. Within the social sciences, the twentieth century has been defined by the conflict between modernist (social sciences) and positivist (linguistics) versus postmodern

(social sciences) and post-structuralist (linguistics) theoretical perspectives. Perhaps unavoidably, the development of theory about the relationship between language and identity in the field of linguistics has been no exception to this debate. Though these paradigms first emerged from disciplines other than linguistics, for the purpose of framing this study, I will use this terminology only as it has been applied to a linguistics theoretical frame of reference.

During the height of what some would call linguistics' "golden age" in the 1960s and 1970s, Chomsky (1957) and his contemporaries rejected Saussure's (1916) structuralism and established generative and transformational linguistics, which retheorized language in terms of universal linguistic knowledge (competence). Despite the step away from complete empiricism, Chomsky's work still centered around how idealized, hypothetical interlocutors use and understand grammar unconsciously. Incoherency in usage (performance) by these interlocutors, such as memory lapses, errors, fatigue, etc., were automatically discounted as accidental or results of flawed cognition, and therefore of less interest in the scientific study of language (Baxter, 2016), to the neglect of examining other consequential factors as the constitutive markers of the given speaker's language use. The assumption of underlying linguistic structures within the brain allowed for a logical and more reliably observable framework for studying human cognitive capacity. In SLA, similar assumptions were transferred by positioning monolingual native speakers in the place of idealized speakers of (first) language acquisition.

Though not included in the traditional canon of poststructuralists, Cook (2016) challenged Chomskyan notions by arguing for *multi-competence* or "overall system of a mind that knows and uses more than one language" (p. 15). His perspective maintains, above all, that people who use more than one language have a distinct, integrated state of mind that is not the equivalent of two (or more) monolingual states. It is a holistic view of language development and

use that eschews bilingualism or multilingualism as some idealized condition characterized by advanced language proficiency in more than two languages. Multi-competence is a dynamic system that accounts for the natural ebb and flow of a person's native language as well as other languages in various stages of development, affecting the whole mind, i.e., all language and cognitive systems, rather than language alone.

In terms of semiotics, Saussure argued that language does not reflect a given social reality, but rather constitutes that social reality for us (as in Baxter, 2016). Because individual linguistic signs do not contain inherent meaning, they are determined by their relationships with other signs, and are therefore fixed within the pre-existing framework of socially negotiated meanings. Due to the fact that though seemingly fixed, these meanings can be proven to change over time and between speakers, poststructuralist linguists began to question the inflexibility of linguistic structures and focus more on the dynamic and discursive forces at play in determining how and when such meanings are accepted systemically. In reaction to the structuralist prioritization of competence over performance, a new theoretical wave came forward. Post-structuralist theory as applied to linguistics saw language not as a set of idealized forms independent of their speakers or their speaking, but rather as situated utterances in which speakers struggle to create meanings through their communication with others (as in Bakhtin, 1981).

While structuralists envisioned language learning as an individual's process of internalizing the set of rules, structures, and vocabulary of a standard language, Bakhtin (1981), Bourdieu (1991), and other post-structuralists saw it as a process of struggling to use language in order to participate in specific discourse communities for specific purposes. These discourse communities are simultaneously determined by the past usages or contexts of use by others and

by individual interlocutors who use language to express their own new (or newly negotiated) meanings. Vygotsky's work on sociocultural theory (1978), which developed in parallel with post-structuralism, posited that first and second language learning is only possible in proximity to others, and therefore language acquisition and use is necessarily socially constructed.

In his contributions to what would become poststructuralism within linguistics, Foucault (1980) expanded on the idea of discourses and discourse communities by arguing that language is indeed a system, but one that represents human experience or relationships in an opaque and non-neutral way within a given historical context. Such discourses compete to offer differing versions of reality as they relate to opposing and intersecting power interests. Identity theorist Judith Baxter (2016) describes one of Foucault's contributions to the terminology and theoretical development around identity and language as the defining of discourses as "responsible for the ways in which individual identities are recognized, constructed and regulated" and the process of identity construction by way of language is achieved through "the agency of individual language users who are subjectively motivated to take up particular positions within multiple discourses and through the ways they are variously positioned as subjects by the social, normalizing power of those discourses" (p. 37).

As explained in the following sections, these post-structural theories of language and positionality inform much of the work on identity and language, and by logical extension, the exploration of identity and language learning. I will address perspectives on identity and language by discussing the ways they have focused the theoretical conversation on the relationship between language learning and what eventually becomes L2 imagined identities for the learners in my research and in other language learning contexts around the world.

Centering this Research on the Acquisition and Dissemination of the English Language

As established above, for most of the twentieth century, research and pedagogy surrounding language acquisition and language learning followed constructs that can be considered congruent with structuralist notions of language, using terms such as native/first/mother language (L1 or ML), foreign language (FL) and second language (SL), with any additionally acquired language after the L1 being considered an L2. In general, as articulated by Richards and Schmidt (2002), L1 tended to be understood as the language a person acquires first and mostly at home, while SL was seen either as any language learned after the mother language or a language that is not the native language in a country, but is widely used as a medium of communication within the community where it is learned. FL, in contrast, was viewed as a language which is taught as a school subject but, which is neither used as a medium of instruction in schools or as a language of communication within a single nation, thus learned primarily for contact outside one's own community. The development of these seminal concepts in second language acquisition research were in many ways concurrent with the expansion of Imperial Britain and the United States leading up to and certainly after World War II. Political and economic power and prestige followed, resulting in increasing popularity and even official language policy in countries with varying degrees of connection to either nation around the world. Because of this, both EFL and ESL gradually became more prevalent and took the place that was once held almost exclusively by either French or Latin.

As a reaction to the global power of English and English-speaking national projects—most acutely colonialism and imperialism—researchers and scholars in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics began to adopt critical narratives and theoretical interpretations using

poststructuralist theories of language, and thereby questioning the terminology of FL and SL as well as the conditions for the prestige of the English language in the world (Norton, 2000; and others). This perspective acknowledged the inherent prejudices or assumptions made about those who do not learn English as a first language, and also bilinguals and native speakers of English who may speak a dialect far from the standard variety. Particularly in the last half of the twentieth century, the accepted notion of Chomsky and others' ideal speaker in first language acquisition was by default translated into the notion that a native speaker (of the standard variety) was the ideal speaker model for second language acquisition in terms of all levels of language production and performance, but perhaps most acutely through pronunciation.

As a result of their diverse research on bi/multilingualism, linguistic multicompetence, and the incorporation of intercultural competency into the language classroom at the end of the century Cook (1995), Cummins (2007), Kramsch (1993), among others, concluded otherwise: that students may benefit more from learning from highly-competent, non-native speaker teachers and that intercultural competency is a greater determining factor in SLA. In a more complexly ordered world that is increasingly hyperaware of the consequences of language learning projects and policies, it is now more pertinent than ever to consider the view that places the (often monolingual) native-speaker teacher at the center of second language pedagogy for ideal second language acquisition as one that should be problematized. Kramsch (1993) and Kubota (2012) also emphasize that this is particularly true for colonial or imperial languages, with English as the apse. They claim that the idealized native-speaker teacher phenomenon has more to do with language planning and policy based on cultural conceptions of what that second language means within the world than with actual learner success in SLA (Kramsch, 1993; Kubota, 2012). Therefore, in practice, where native speakers of prestige languages maintain

more determining power in the use and dissemination of those languages, non-native speakers of those languages far outnumber them and are responsible for shifting the contexts of that language use and access to it.

From these revelations, and along with the expansion of English as a globally used and learned language with the advent of new technologies such as the internet and increased movement and migration, new concepts such as "World Englishes" (Kachru, 1985, 2005; Rajagopalan, 2004, 2011) and "English as a Lingua Franca" (ELF) (Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2005) have emerged. Although there are some criticisms of the development of such terms around English, for the purpose of the research of this thesis, it is important to have some kind of starting place that locates English in a global context and then resituates it in a localized context as it is codified into second language learning in Brazil. I will now explore these terms further from relevant poststructuralist literature.

World English(es). One of the first and most widely accepted ways of differentiating the new and emergent kinds of English is the "World English(es)," proposed by Kachru (1985; and later in 2005). World English is a linguistic phenomenon that emerged as the result of globalization. Kachru and others propose that it does not have native speakers, is transnational and multi-centric; presupposing the existence of multiple norms and emphasizing hybridity (1985). In this way, the duality of "us-versus-them" of "insiders-versus-outsiders" so often involved in multilingual and multicultural research is problematized and reimagined. He proposes a model composed of three concentric circles: the inner circle, for historically attributive native speakers of English, mainly from the United Kingdom, North America, Australia and New Zealand; the outer circle, for second language speakers of English from former British colonies such as India, Pakistan, Nigeria, etc.; and the expanding circle, for

foreign language speakers of English, in rapidly developing countries of consequential economic and demographic importance, but where the language does not have intra-national uses, such as Brazil, China, and Russia, among others (Kachru, 2005). The world order views inner-circle speakers as norm providers, while speakers from the outer circle are norm developers and speakers from the expanding circle are norm-dependent (Kachru, 2005).

As viewed by Rajagopalan (2004), the concept of World English(es) is necessarily based on a political and ideological stance that is invested in critical resistance and subversive action on the part of non-inner circle countries. While pioneering in its recognition of the different kinds of English spoken around the world, Kachru's model has been seen as over-simplistic in its relativist concentration on nation-based dynamics of language and culture. Other scholarship has questioned the model's ability to consider issues of power related to the spread of the English language, and also to give importance the multiplicity of uses and senses that it can acquire in diverse contexts within and among nations at a global level (Gimenez, Calvo & El Kadri, 2011).

English as a lingua franca. Later, the notion of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has also emerged as a consequence of the spread of the English language around the world. Scholars who advocate for this view (Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2005) posit that ELF is a language system which is used as a means of communication between people of different linguistic backgrounds, without association to specific nations or cultures. Thus, ELF is focused on mutual intelligibility and on how English is used by its speakers to negotiate meaning in ways that differ from those used by mainstream native speakers. As such, ELF maintains its own linguistic norms which develop out of the interactions between its speakers, rather than being a language that is dependent only on native English speaker norms.

Though the ELF model questions linguistic prescriptivism and supports linguistic heterogeneity, it does not necessarily represent the interactions between native and non-native English speakers within the world and how they might mutually produce new sociolinguistic norms together in increasingly multilingual environments. Moreover, this perspective also perpetuates a hierarchical relation among speakers of English, as traditionally the model was conceived of having non-native speakers of English in mind. Numerous studies about Brazilian educator and learner perspectives towards the utility of reframing the study of English as EFL to ELF have been conducted in recent years (Finardi, 2014; Rajagopalan, 2004; Regis, 2013; among others). At the center of this research is the emphasis on the importance of intercultural competency as a primary feature of ELF in Brazil. It also is a call to change the language ideologies surrounding the dissemination of English in a sociolinguistic context that at once views it as a necessity and a threat to the official status of Brazilian Portuguese.

Global English. What Kachru (1985, 2005), Rajagopalan (2004), Seidlhofer (2005), and Jenkins' (2000) conceptualizations hold in common is the view that today, the English language has no owner and cannot be associated solely to inner-circle nations or specific cultures. Both views advocate for non-prescriptivist, critical assumptions about the nature of language as well as the importance of including speaker populations in the periphery and giving value to the linguistic contributions they make to a diverse global discourse community. However, as Carazzai (2013) warns, these conceptualizations do not necessarily reflect students' and teachers' views all over the world, and more specifically in Brazil, nor have they been put into practice in many (if not most) Brazilian schools and universities yet. Therefore, she notes, there may be many contexts in which both students and teachers still view English as a foreign language and do not feel that they have a right to stake ownership over the language yet.

The complex nature of language ideologies surrounding English in Brazil is not the primary focus of the present research, but it does play an important part in the strategies for negotiation and formation of L2 identities used the participants of my study. As such, I have opted to use the terms "Global English" and "ELF" interchangeably to point the participants to a more generalized definition of "English as a lingua franca or international language in the global sense or context" in this study. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the results of involving "Global English" and "Global Identity" in the interviews resulted in mixed reactions by the participants depending on the evolving language ideologies they have prescribed to over time after their experiences abroad and in their return to Brazil. The implications of this inquiry will be explored further in the findings and analysis section of this thesis (Chapter IV).

Furthermore, for the purposes of this thesis, the terms for who studies which English must be defined to avoid confusion. Much of the literature focuses on either English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Second Language (ESL) or English as a Second or Other Language (ESOL). While the first term refers to English language instruction in countries where English is not the official and/or most widely-used or "native" language, ESL/ESOL refer to English instruction to non-native speakers in the context of English-speaking countries. There is a third term, English Language Learner (ELL), that is commonly used in the United States somewhat interchangeably with ESL/ESOL. Because it is semantically less cumbersome to use in describing Brazilian sojourners who have both studied EFL in Brazil as well as ESL/ESOL abroad, ELL will be used to refer to any learner of the English language as an L2 in any given context. This term is important in establishing continuity in language learning experience over time and space as a longterm identity attribute and factor.

Identity Theories and Language Learning

"Identity" has taken on countless meanings for different contexts for millennia. In humanities and social sciences scholarship of the 20th century, theorizations have moved from identity as innate, stable, and singular, to identity as negotiated, contextualized, and multiple (Dervin & Risager, 2015). Because language is used in particular ways to communicate these different conceptualizations of identity, we can assume that linguistic codes and the cultural knowledge that they carry can produce new identities for learners. In order to make sense of the interviews and meta-discourses that position identity in relation to language and in relation to language learning, I will examine the shifts around the meaning of "identity" further.

A modernist or liberal-humanist perspective of identity presupposes an essence at the core of the individual, which is unique, fixed and coherent, and which makes a person recognizably possess a character or personality (Ricento, 2005). Later, beginning in the 1960s, identity started to be seen as inherently determined by social forces, as research and theoretical development in the areas of psychology and sociology began to take hold in the social sciences. Early work in SLA was influenced by the theories of social identity developed by Tajfel (1981) (social identity through group membership), Giles and Byrne (1982) (language as a marker of group membership and social identity), and Gumperz' (1982) and Heller's (1995) with language group membership "codes." Schumann's Acculturation Model (1986) and Gardner and Lambert's (1972) view of instrumental and integrative motivation also entered into the identity conversation.

As noted by Ricento (2005), the principal critique of these theories as viewed by poststructuralists is that the socially-constructed and determined identity parallels midcentury linguistic theory: both are essentialist. That is, just as an individual's capacity for language is

measured by monolingual, native-speaker assumptions, so too is that individual's identity. Simultaneous, multiple, and multilayered codes and memberships are not presupposed. For example, Gardner and Lambert's (1972) "instrumental motivation" examines the targeted, pragmatic purposes for learning a second language, such as for career opportunities, travel abroad, passing a test, etc., while "integrative motivation" involves a learner's desire to integrate themselves within the second language cultural group. Though helpful in naming different types of learner motivation, the authors propose an assimilationist model in which the price of acceptance into a host culture is the loss of one's identity, or at the least the adoption of dual identities that are categorically separate.

Furthermore, bias in much of the SLA research from the 1960s-1980s "presupposed the conflictual aspects of language contact" rather than the mutually constitutive realities of how they may form complex identities in a single individual (Ricento, 2005, p. 897). In terms of identity negotiation and cognitive processing, L2 learning involved a "clash of consciousness," to schizophrenia in which "social encounters become inherently threatening, and defense mechanisms are employed to reduce the trauma" (Clarke, 1976, p. 380). Even Brown's model of acculturation (1994) involved four stages: euphoria, culture shock, culture stress, with ultimate assimilation or adaptation to the new culture and acceptance of the "new" person that has developed posed as the primary objective. Inability to assimilate or adapt had both social and linguistic consequences, resulting in the individual failing to achieve native-like proficiency and therefore being excluded from the L2 society. The interaction of an individual's multiple memberships based on gender, class, race, linguistic repertoire, or on how these memberships were understood and played out in different learning contexts and according to what factors and forces in terms of power were not explored. Such essentialist views of language and identity

persist today, and I will look at this more deeply in terms of how some of the participants in the present study described their identities along these subtractive lines.

Later, as described by Baxter (2016), emergent radical movements based in the rejection of such identity frameworks, such as second-wave feminism and the LGBTQ+ liberation and rights movement, scholars in the social sciences began to take a more critical, postmodern approach to thinking about language and identity, culminating in poststructuralism. In terms of conceptualizing identity, poststructuralism does not have one fixed definition but is generally applied to a range of theoretical positions developed from such thinkers as Althusser (1984), Bakhtin (1981), Derrida (1982), Foucault (1980) and others. Even though these scholars were writing at the same time, they developed theoretical frames independently, resulting in richly diverse perspectives on the relationship between language, meaning and identity. While these different forms of poststructuralism vary in their interests, emphases and practices, they share certain fundamental assumptions, such as the rejection of universal truths about human social behavior, the discursive and socially-negotiated relationship between language and the construction of meaning, and the discursive construction of identities (Baxter, 2016, p. 34).

Baxter (2016) states that within poststructuralism, individuals are "never outside cultural forces or discursive practices but always 'subject' to them…governed by a range of 'subject positions' (ways of being), approved by their community or culture, and made available to them by means of the particular discourses operating within a given social context" (p. 37). If language users do not conform to these approved discourses in terms of how they speak, act and behave, they may be stigmatized by others with pejorative labels (linguistic identity markers) (Baxter, 2016) or simply excluded from interactions or communicative exchanges at all (chances to use language to redefine their positionalities).

An important point to consider here is how a measure of individual awareness or control over the means by which identities are called into existence to a range of subject positions are made available by different discursive contexts (Baxter, 2016). In other words, do individuals have agency in determining their identities, and how much 'control' do they have over their ways of being in the world? Poststructuralist views vary in this area, depending on how much importance psychological and physical experiences are given to the defining of identity.

My study seeks to discover whether the following is true: that while complete, autonomous agency is impossible within the socially-constitutive paradigms of poststructuralism, strategic and mediated agency may be possible through the purposeful practice of critical reflection about one's identity(ies). For example, language users may purposefully choose to perform non-normative language as way to transgress socially approved patterns of speech and behavior and thereby re-write the discourse and social contract (Butler, 1990). Discourse about these constant negotiations resulted in a new view of identity as fluid and heterogeneous, with the subject identified according to his/her belonging to multiple identity categories, such as linguistic, national and racial, among others (Baxter, 2016). Such identification is viewed as being impermanent, disarticulating the stable past identities and giving opportunity to the creation of new identities, new subject positions, in a more reflexive way of life. This is conducive to a postmodern/postcolonial world in which "identities are constructed by and through language but they also produce and reproduce innovative forms of language" (Baxter, 2016, p. 34).

Poststructuralist and Sociocultural Theories of L2 Identity and Community

The big three: Theories foundational to Norton. Critical applied linguists and second language acquisition (SLA) researchers have used poststructuralist and sociocultural theories to

develop frameworks for exploring influences surrounding L2 learner identities in particular. In this subsection, I briefly summarize views of identity and community, based on the works of Bourdieu (1977; 1991), Weedon (1997), and Anderson (1991). These poststructuralist scholars have been influential in the language learning field, serving as the foundation for the work of Bonny Norton (Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995), on whose work I have used as the preeminent theoretical and methodological lens for my own study.

The writings of Bourdieu (1977, 1980, 1991) deal with a sociological view of education, language, and society, among other topics. Bourdieu proposes that the individual and the society are interdependent components of the same reality, with identity hinging on individual agency, with its position in relation to the constantly shifting constraints imposed by environments. Borrowing and redefining the term 'capital' from economics, Bourdieu differentiates separate types of capital, expressly economic (economic resources, money and real state), social (social relations), cultural (knowledge, skills, education, language), and symbolic (prestige, honor, recognition). These forms of capital, according to the author, are resources that can be gained through different relationships and actions, and are responsible for a person's position in society. Capital, thus, confers power and status, and as such, as noted by Kramsch (1993): "Individuals become complicit in playing a game whose rules have been set by powerful institutions" (p. 899).

Drawing from Bourdieu, Norton (2000) views the relationship between identity and symbolic power as the process of how hierarchies based on social status influence the "right to speech," which Norton translates from the French to mean the "right to speak," as well as what Kramsch (1993) calls the "power to impose reception." Cultural capital, then, is the "knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups in relation to specific sets of

social forms," which can be observed and practiced in various language learning contexts or contact zones and often operates as the basis for other types of capital to develop within the learner's identit(ies) (Kramsch, 1993, p. 899; Norton, 2000, p. 10).

The view that individuals and the society are mutually dependent, defended by Bourdieu, is also present in the work of Weedon (1997). Given this understanding of identity(ies) as a fluid network of subject positions, many feminist poststructuralists such as Weedon prefer the term 'subjectivity(ies)', which has three defining characteristics: the "plural, non-unitary aspects of the subject; subjectivity as a site of struggle; and subjectivity as changing over time" (Baxter 2016, p. 38). In this way, identity is interpreted in relational terms in which the individual is subject of or to a set of relationships. For Weedon, individuals construct or negotiate their subjectivities through language; ultimately the language of others according to social forces not of their choosing. Her theoretical focus on the conditions under which individuals speak is situated in the contextual: in both institutions, relationships, and communities. This emphasis in the contextual is critical for the present study because of the highly contested and conflictual space of English use in social contexts within Brazil.

While Bourdieu and Weedon examine identity in regard to its relationship with the social world, they do look at how national affiliations impact identities. Anderson (1991) further discusses identity in terms of the political through the idea of nationalism. He proposed that nations are imagined, thus coining the term 'imagined communities.' In Anderson's view, identity is more national than individual and a symbolic construct which is established by the power that communities possess use to define themselves by means of perception and imagination. In such communities, its members have a sense of belonging and feel connected through symbols, references and experiences (collective memory) that they share, even if they

don't personally know each other. Anderson views language then, as one of the key aspects that helps build and maintain such cohesion and is critically involved in the project of nationalism, because "language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language. On the contrary, it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of Babel: no one lives long enough to learn all languages" (p. 134).

Identity in the language learning process and environment. The theoretical relevance of identity categories (the specific markers for how a language user sees her/himself and is seen by others) to L2 learning needs to be established in order to better understand the L2 acquisition process as well as the social challenges of multicultural societies (Gass, 1998). The wide range of research in this area shows that new theories of identity and language learning permit conceptual flexibility in research about L2 learning (Norton, 2010). Menard-Warwick (2009) discusses the debate regarding the stable versus fluid nature of identity, and contrary to a post-structural perspective, and like Bakhtin, she argues that identity can be both stable and fluid, reconciling these to simply different conceptions of identity. She focuses on the potential for language learner agents to be self-reflective about the development and negotiation of their (linguistic) identity(ies) in the language learning process. She also explores further aspects of gender as it relates to opportunities for creating these identities.

The debate over which theoretical perspective to prioritize has resulted in richly varied and compelling studies. A more recent look at language and identity by Hall, Cheng, and Carlson (2006) explored language learning through collaborative engagement using identity-conceptualizing linguistic tools such as *reorganization, redirection, expansion,* and *transformation*, as well as *communicative repertoire* or *communicative expertise*, among others (p. 232). Through their usage-based view of language knowledge they argued that speakers of

multiple languages are able to engage in interactions in those languages as a result of their ability to participate in language-specific activities, resulting in *multicompetence* (Cook, 1995; Hall et al., 2006, p. 232). For them, language competence results from performance in activities using particular language in accordance with identity-forming and identity-marking linguistic tools (such as the ones mentioned above), as is determined by their social and cultural positioning.

L2 learning is not entirely determined by structural conditions and social contexts, partly because these conditions and contexts are in states of transformation themselves (Norton, 2013). In addition, language learners who struggle to speak from one identity position are sometimes able to reframe their relationship with their interlocutors and thereby change the ways they command language. If learners are successful in their bids for more powerful identities, their language acquisition may be enhanced. To further these theories, Watson-Gegeo (2004) explores the incorporation of power relations and more critical perspective of learning through language socialization, in contrast to earlier conceptions of language socialization as being an unproblematic process of enculturation.

This contemporary language socialization theory includes the "community of practice" framework as discussed by Wenger (1998). Wenger's community of practice framework has three essential dimensions: mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire, all of which involve language. In terms of the construction of identity, Wenger emphasizes competence within the community of practice. Understanding and recognizing engagement with others, makes agents accountable to the group and themselves. Wenger's idea of nonparticipation contrasts this point. Nonparticipation of peripherality allows a newcomer to learn on their own terms while nonparticipation of marginality constrains a newcomer's access to resources (1998). Similarly, Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of language learning emphasizes learning as

involving the whole person with a sociocultural history. They argue that the individual (agent), along with the activity in which the individual is engaged and the sociocultural context all mutually constitute each other. “Legitimate” peripheral participation is a central defining characteristic involving power relations, in which inter-linguistic agents are given a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and their predecessers, and about activities, artifacts, identities, and communities of knowledge and practice. It then informs the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice, eventually impacting what their identities as learners may come to be.

The common thread in the writings of Bourdieu (1977, 1991), Weedon (1997), Lave and Wenger (1991), Wenger (1998), and Anderson (1991) is the view that identity is both conditioned by the society and conditions it in turn. In other words, identity is constituted by and constitutive of the social world in an interdependent relationship. Because individuals and society are constantly interacting and redefining the parameters for positionality, these authors understand that identities are not fixed or essentialized, but fluid, fragmented, and unstable. A final aspect that is common to these authors, and relevant to my study, is that they ascribe a central role to language in identity formation, through the relationship between the individual and the society.

Norton’s Constructs: Identity, Imagined Identities/Communities, and Investment

Identity. The work of critical applied linguist Bonny Norton (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000, 2001, 2007, among others) has been cited in poststructuralist literature (Block, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Ricento, 2005; and others) as landmark in its critical approaches toward conceptualizing identity and its relationship with SLA and language learning and

teaching. In acknowledging her predecessors, Norton uses the term *identity* "to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (2000, p. 5). She claims that SLA theorists "have not developed a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context" and "have not questioned how relations of power in the social world have an impact on social interaction between second language learners and target language speakers" (p. 4). This served as the basis for her research.

Bonny Norton's (Norton, 1997, 2000, 2001; Norton Peirce, 1995) seminal study on the changing identities of five immigrant women living in Canada and learning ESL was based on poststructuralist views of language and identity, mainly the works of Bourdieu (1977, 1991) Weedon (1997), Wenger (1998) and Anderson (1991) as described above. By collecting data over 2 years in the form of diary studies, interviews and questionnaires, Norton analyzes and interprets the findings while simultaneously telling the stories and experiences of the five participants individually. She begins with Elena (Poland) and Mai (Vietnam), who were the youngest and single participants; then Katarina (Poland), Martina (former Czechoslovakia) and Felicia (Peru), who were older and married with children. The results revealed the women's conflicting desires to learn and practice English; citing their primary barrier as a sense of not belonging to the native speaking Canadian social networks with which they had contact and aspired to join. Consequently, they did not practice English outside school as much as they would like, despite the fact that all of them wished to transfer the skills they developed in class to other contexts. These findings emphasize the central role of language in the negotiation of a person's sense of self at different points in time and in different contexts, which in turn also allows that person access (or not) to powerful social networks that give the opportunity to speak.

Norton's (2000) study also showed how current pedagogical approaches in communicative language teaching which give precedence to verbal performance skills rather than literacy, impacted the subjects' participation in class because they did not establish the locus of control over the rate of the flow of information. The women narrated feelings of inferiority and discomfort speaking at moments of specific marginalization, such as in conversations with people possessing greater symbolic or material power, resulting in purposeful non-participation in class as a strategy to resist such positions of marginality (2000). Based on her findings, Bonny Norton (Norton, 1997, 2000, 2007; Norton Peirce, 1995) proposed a new view of the concept of identity, drawing on both institutional and community practices as determinant forces in the social-dialectical construction of identities.

Following Foucault (1980), Norton (2000) takes the position that:

> Power does not operate only at the macro level of powerful institutions such as the legal, education, and social welfare systems, but also at the micro level of everyday social encounters between people with differential access to symbolic and material resources—encounters that are inevitably produced within language. (p. 7)

She identifies sites of identity construction or negotiation as sites of power struggles. Classroom practices and larger structural constraints such as culture and even language ideologies (as I am arguing in this study) may position students in undesirable ways, making them feel marginalized. Beyond non-participation and withdrawal from second language use contexts, learners can also affirm their identities by creating "safe houses" or "social/intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogeneous, sovereign communities with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, temporary protection from legacies of oppression" (Pratt 1992, p. 40) in their larger school or work environments (Norton, 2001; Norton Peirce, 1995). Such

practices on the part of learners contribute to how they view and think about their identities within the second language context.

Imagined L2 identities and imagined L2 communities. Drawing on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991), Wenger (1998) and extending Anderson's (1991) term of "imagination," Bonny Norton (Norton, 2000; 2001; 2006; 2010; Norton Peirce, 1995; among others) associates the terms *imagined identity* and *imagined communities* to language learning. Kanno and Norton (2003) argue that the existence of imagined communities and imagined identities are mutually constitutive, and because of this it important to comprehend a learner's identity not only in terms of his/her investment in the 'real' world, but also in terms of his/her investment in possible worlds, that is, in his/her imagined community. As Kanno and Norton (2003) define, "imagined communities refer to groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination" (p. 241). Governments and law, media and the popular culture industry, and economics and trade (among other forces) contribute to the creation of a learner's imagined community, which ultimately extends far beyond the language classroom. Imagined communities can be reconstructions of the learner's past communities and relationships and his/her imaginative projections for the future.

From Norton's (1997, 2000, 2001) participants, for instance, Elena was the only one who seemed to believe that she already belonged to her imagined community, because of her closer relationship to members of Anglophone networks in Canada. The other women (Mai, Katarina, Martina and Felicia) still wished to have access to their imagined communities which were also disparate in nature. Mai hoped to belong to a community in which she could be seen as a language broker as a way to escape her traditional family structure; Katarina hoped to have access to a community of professionals since she had been a teacher in Poland; and Felicia

wished to connect with the Peruvian community, which was easier for her to access since she was wealthy in Peru. It is relevant to mention that although imagined communities do not exist, and may be very different from the daily life reality, they are not perceived as unreal by the learner and can have a strong impact on the learner's actions and investments in their L2 (2001).

Language learning and investment. Norton's concept of *investment* (1997, 2000, 2001), was developed based on Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) conception of cultural capital, in part. In contrast to preceding SLA research on "motivation," Norton's *investment* characterizes the complex motives and desires that language learners may have vis-a-vis a target language (Ricento, 2005). She posits that "if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (2000, p. 10). The women participants in Norton's study (1997, 2000, 2001) invested in the English language in different ways and to different extents. While all five women began the study enrolled in an ESL course, Mai, Katarina and Felicia prematurely quit the course after they felt marginalized in class. Beyond the classroom, the five women also invested in speaking practices either in their work places (Mai, Martina, Elena, Katarina, Felicia), or in language exchanges that were part of their daily lives and chores (Martina, Mai). Regardless of the type of investment, the choices the participants made came from efforts to acculturate into the L2 society and to improve both their personal cultural capital, as well as security and opportunity for cultural capital for their families (2000). Norton's focus on sites of investment outside the classroom—which I have come to reinterpret as *informal language learning contexts*—is something I wish to explore in the present study about Brazilian ELLs.

Because learners have complex social histories and multiple desires, they must constantly "organize and reorganize a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (2000, p. 10). Thus, an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity which is "constantly changing across time and space" (2000, p. 11). This discovery is profound in the ways that it requires language educators and linguists to reframe the majority of prevailing assumptions about motivation and successful L2 acquisition. In the case of Norton's (1997, 2000, 2001) participants, their investments related to the fact that they were working towards their own "reorganization" as Canadian citizens, instead of their more marginalized positionalities as immigrants. While Elena believed she had the same opportunities as other Canadians and so invested in her multicultural identity, Mai resisted the patriarchal structure of her family; Katarina associated herself with her previously established professional identity as a teacher; Martina associated herself with the role of a caregiver at home; and Felicia reinforced her identity of a Peruvian woman of means.

Because of their different underlying motives for language learning investments, L2 learners necessarily have divergent investments in differing members of the target language community. The people in whom the learners have the greatest investment are the judges of the language learner's cultural capital; they may be the very individuals who provide (or limit) access to the imagined community of a given learner. Norton and her contemporaries' work in more recent years has attempted to build on the previous arguments, demonstrating how nation-states may shape the imagination of their citizens and how actual and desired memberships in various imagined communities mediate the learning of—or resistance to—English around the world (Early & Norton, 2012; Pavlenko & Norton 2007).

Situating the Present Study in Brazil

More recent explorations in language policy and sociolinguistics indicate that in postcolonial contexts, national identities are often invoked in relation to English as a global language (Early & Norton, 2012; Pavlenko & Norton 2007). According to Pavlenko and Norton (2008): "while some countries may renounce English as a language of colonialism, others may take a neutral stance, neither privileging nor discouraging English, and yet others may choose to appropriate and indigenize English, constructing national identities simultaneously through and in opposition to English" (p. 592). In Brazil, an "outer-circle country," all of these processes are occurring simultaneously amongst diverse communities that use English. They are found in the professional sphere of multinational corporations and technology development, among new immigrants and refugee populations arriving in metropoles like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, in schools and universities and for-profit language institutes, and perhaps most extensively through the omnipresence of English-language cultural imports. This study seeks to look into what English *means* in Brazil, and what English *means* to its Brazilian users, or in other words, what language ideologies are formed around the English language in emergent contexts of use and why they are formed in these ways, as this relates to imagined identities and communities and investment. in furthering Norton's and others' theoretical explorations and their ensuing pedagogical implications in a world.

Language policy in Brazil. Brazil has always been a multilingual country, although throughout its history, various forces have systematically attempted to eradicate the linguistic diversity within the population or make it invisible (Cavalcanti, 1999). As noted by Cavalcanti and Maher (2016), over the centuries, three types of repressive language policies have

contributed in significant ways to the embedding of a grand narrative about Brazil being monolingual Portuguese, in the collective memory of its citizens.

First, the Portuguese colonial era saw decrees that all indigenous languages be replaced by Portuguese in all public domains, along with the prohibiting of African languages spoken by slaves on sugar and coffee plantations by way of forced family separation. After independence in the Estado Novo, then President of the Republic, Getúlio Vargas, made Brazil an ally to the United States in the Second World War. Based on this decision, he proclaimed that the national languages of "enemy countries" Germany, Japan and Italy—languages that were still being widely used in immigrant communities in southern Brazil—should be forbidden in schools and banned everywhere else in society. This alliance also consequently solidified English as the foreign language (still subordinate to Portuguese) to implement in national education policies. Finally, the monolingual Portuguese educational policy towards Deaf groups in Brazil, in which the Deaf were required to learn to communicate in oral Portuguese and forbade the use of Sign Languages at school. These policies, and the language ideologies that have been formed around them, have contributed to the creation and reinforcement of the status of Portuguese and the symbolic "invention" of a Brazilian national language (Berenblum, 2003). The staying power of these language ideologies is evidenced by the fact that such beliefs remain fixed in the assumed identities of most Brazilians, and thereby the institutions, organizations, and projects that they operate within, even after recent efforts to rebuke them.

Starting in the early 1990s, Brazil has overseen a shift in language ideologies with the advent of more democratic processes at the end of the military dictatorship (1964-1984). In the new constitution, indigenous languages and cultures were finally acknowledged and upheld as part of the national patrimony (Cavalcanti & Maher, 2016). This strengthened the position of

existing bilingual education programs that were sponsored by non-governmental organizations and encouraged the development of new bilingual education programs and language revitalization projects in Indigenous communities. Additionally, bilingual education programs were also established by various communities of immigrant origin (German, Italian, and others) in the southern region of the country, along with bilingual education programs for Deaf communities (Cavalcanti & Silva, 2016). Such significant changes in language policies and educational practices were only possible because of a broader shift that had taken place in the country towards greater awareness of its cultural diversity (Cavalcanti & Maher, 2016).

To understand the multilingual nature of contemporary Brazil, Cavalcanti and Maher insist taking the recent history and of the fact that the country has been embedded in complex and changing global relations of a political, economic and cultural nature into account (2018). Since the 1970s, Brazil has entered into a series of debilitating global/local economic crises. These different economic shifts have been responsible for significantly increasing migration movements in and out of the country: outward migration to Japan and to the US in (Margolis, 2013) and overlapping inward migration from China, South Korea. Throughout both decades of the 21st century, while the major economies in the world were undergoing a severe economic crisis, Brazil—one of the so-called BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa)—experienced a brief economic boom. With the boom came new transnational migration flows to Brazil from neighboring South American countries (mainly Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador) and, to a lesser extent, from countries such as Angola, Bangladesh, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. The growth in Brazil also led to the return of some Brazilians who had migrated to Japan and to the US in earlier decades. Other recent immigration flows to Brazil include the intermittent return to Brazil of the Brasiguaios (Brazilian-

Uruguayans) and asylees/refugees in the wake of the earthquake in Haiti and the civil war in Syria. Research on how these groups linguistically assimilate into BP or use English as a lingua franca has yet to address the most recent influxes.

In the last 5 years, the pendulum of economic and political stability has swung in the opposite direction with the highly-contested impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff and consequential prosecutions of the vast majority of Brazilian political representatives on corruption charges. The economic depression that followed has rendered the unprecedented growth ten years prior irrelevant, forcing many middle-class Brazilians who have at least some access to the outside world to pursue opportunities abroad. This in turn has caused the gap between the wealthy elites and poor Brazilians to widen as all demographics flood urban hubs in search of non-existent jobs (Cavalcanti & Maher, 2016). The competition faced by enterprising individuals at every social class is inherently tied to the job seeker's ability to fit into an increasingly technology-focused, globalized matrix. Access to the tools, resources and interfaces that determine such work both in and outside of Brazil is often dependent on the job seeker's familiarity with English. From a purely socioeconomic perspective, it is in this climate that the participants of the present study have begun to reevaluate and rethink their investments and identities in the English language as it pertains to their current positionality within Brazil. As Rajagopalan (2008) states: "it will be interesting to see how the long tradition of framing language policy around the issues of national unity and security will fare in the face of the relentless process of globalization under way around the world which is fast eroding such essentially 19th century myths as nation, national language, etc." (p. 185).

Policy, ideology, and attitudes surrounding English. Considering the heterogeneous and complex cultural reality of Brazil as a sociolinguistic context, the English language is today

best described as being strategically located at a crossroads (Rajagopalan & Rajagopalan, 2005). The presence of English in the country's social, cultural, and economic life is undeniable and is growing rapidly with an increasingly younger demographic working towards proficiency in order to attain opportunities in a job market that is steadily becoming more demanding and competitive. A consequence of the exigency and resulting English language-teaching industry boom is the access to and performance of the language itself has become a divider between the urban rich and the suburban/rural poor, reinforcing an economic and cultural chasm that has long been a defining limitation for Brazil to grow into a role as a global, democratic power (Rajagopalan & Rajagopalan, 2005).

Rajagopalan (2003) and Montes (2016) acknowledge the deemphasis of teaching of FLs other than English as a point of concern for many. French has been replaced by English and Spanish as the language that diplomats training for overseas assignments must learn, as well as many high-up members of the private sector. And many Brazilians who grew up before English became the main FL lament the days when French was dominant. The manner and degree of the prioritization of English taught as a foreign language as a national project is reflected in two waves of educational reforms echoing political shifts from the dictatorship in the 1970s to democracy in the 1990s.

Fortes (2015) recounts that in 1971, one of several educational projects established by the national educational reform promoted by the military dictatorial government (1964-1985) and the United States was the limiting of foreign languages taught in public schools to one option. Although not explicitly specified at the outset, English became the target second language because this language was considered relevant for an accurate reading of technical books that were considered important to vocational programs. Another effect of the educational reform was

a reduced number of foreign language class meetings in regular schools in order to shift class-time to other subjects in Portuguese, which paved the way for the implementation and expansion of private (mainly English) language schools. 'Public school English' in the minds of Brazilians today is the belief in the unsuccessful and devalued nature of English language teaching/learning practices in public schools, with 'private language school English' as successful and legitimate English language teaching/learning practices (though this is somewhat contested in the present study). According to Fortes (2015), the discursive disjunction of 'private language school English' versus 'public school English' has "played an important role in producing a social memory of English language teaching and learning practices" (p. 4).

These divergent meanings associated with English language teaching/learning practices carried over into newer educational policies established by Brazilian government after the dictatorial period. The reforms of 1996 established that the teaching of foreign languages should be mandatory from the fifth grade, while simultaneously stating that foreign language would be dependent on the means of each school (i.e., the school could provide it or not); effectively rendering it ultimately optional as a subject (Fortes, 2015). In terms of the purpose of including foreign language teaching at all, the guidelines in the 1996 National Law of Education, the Brazilian national orientations, and parameters for foreign language teaching view the role of foreign languages as allowing Brazilians to learn about other cultures (mainly through the reading of texts in the target language) and suggests that the teaching of foreign languages focuses mainly on the development of the reading skill (with a grammar translation-focused method as a way to achieve this). Beyond the reach of these guidelines, private language institutes feature smaller class sizes and separated by language proficiency level. Here, the focus

is meant to be on the development of communicative and conversational skills so as to allow students to be able to use English professionally (Finardi, 2014).

The relationship between actual language learning policy and the imagined processes of English language learning/teaching in Brazilian public and private schools have an undeniable effect on the negotiation of imaginary identities of ELLs in and outside of Brazil. There has been much research addressing this relationship, particularly in terms of what the future of English language teaching/learning should eventually come to be. Baghin-Spinelli (2002) analyzed identity processes experienced by subjects in English teaching education programs in Brazilian universities, Erlacher (2009) problematized the imaginary of devaluation of English teaching in state schools, and Ferreira da Silva (2010) investigated state school students' representations of English learning. Although they focused on different research objectives, those researchers found that Brazilian state schools are predominantly seen as institutions where teaching/learning English is not possible or not successful. This research and others demonstrate just how delegitimized English teaching and learning practices have become in public schools and, consequently, how private language schools are the only institutions where English teaching is effective—regardless of who may have access to such education (Fortes, 2015).

Gimenez (2013) (as cited in Finardi, 2014) claims that there are two parallel worlds in Brazil: the world of language policies and that of language classes. The present study seeks to add third parallel: the world of socioculturally contextualized (English) language use outside of these two spheres. Regarding the role of English speaking in Brazil, Gimenez (2013) reports on a survey of Brazilians' proficiency in English which places Brazil in 46th position in a ranking of 54 countries and which claim that only about 5% of Brazilians speak English fluently (p. 202). Although most Brazilians view English as an international language which they want and need to

speak fluently for mostly professional and socioeconomic purposes, language planning and policy in Brazil does not recognize the status of English as an international language or as a lingua franca. This singular purpose of learning English—for greater economic opportunity and stability—is bifurcated by another conflicting view of what the language *means* in terms of its presence as a foreign and/or international language: English as a dominant and colonizing symbol that must be resisted because it threatens the national language and other foreign or minority languages (Finardi, 2014).

Given the ubiquity of English in the world, and particularly in its unique modes of importation into Brazil through popular culture, it is not surprising that the English language has become an "ambiguous symbol" in the mind of the average Brazilian (Mompean, 1997). As described in the introduction, English is indivisible from daily-lived reality, appearing on billboards and neon signs, in shop windows and newspaper and magazine ads, as well as from more restricted discursive spheres, such as information technology and electronic commerce, but is devoid of cultural meaning encoded within the language to many Brazilians who encounter it in their day-to-day lives (Montes, 2016). In the past, the knowledge of the need for an adequate command of English to avoid missing out on rewarding professional opportunities was limited to middle and upper-class Brazilians. As indicated by the present study, this understanding is now shared by all social classes as a result of affirmative action policies, international cultural exchanges like Ciências Sem Fronteiras [Science without Borders] (and others), and even major global events such as the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro.

On the other hand, many in Brazil are concerned about the possible negative consequences of the unbridled advance of English into the country's cultural scenario (Rajagopalan, 2000, 2001). Extensive lexical borrowings from English into Portuguese has

perhaps understandably fomented worries about the capacity of the vernacular to withstand what is perceived by many as a systematic onslaught on its integrity and long-term survival (Rajagopalan, 2008), threatening "the very integrity of their nation [Brazil]" (Rajagopalan, 2003, p. 95). Proponents of this view point to "linguistic imperialism" of English and "linguicide" of Portuguese should EFL continue to be normalized in the various contexts of language use in Brazil (Montes, 2016).

In 1999, a policy called *Lei dos Estrangeirismos* (The Law of Foreign Borrowings) was proposed by Brazilian Congressman Aldo Rebelo and passed in 2003 to ban the use of English (or other) loan words or "foreignisms" in public spaces for Brazilian residents physically present for more than one year (Montes, 2016). Now almost 20 years later, the law still requires further approval by the Chamber of Deputies before going into effect (Montes, 2016). The antidote to English borrowings that Rebelo proposed that the national linguistic authorities create new, equivalent BP words or restructure words to appear to be BP, declaring that the revitalizing effect would be a way to promote nationalism (Montes, 2016). The most recent iteration of the law approved by the senate in 2003 restricted foreign borrowings to official documents, the media, and advertisements. Though it was presented as a social reform to unite the Brazilian citizens and to strengthen its relationships with other Lusophone communities, the law has come under much scrutiny by Brazilian linguists, scholars and political opponents (Rajagopalan, 2003).

The increased use of English words where Portuguese equivalents are readily available or vernacular substitutes with a local flavor could easily be coined has become symbolic of the divide between classes. The initial choice to appropriate technical or professional jargon in English allows white-collar (or aspirational white-collar) Brazilian workers to associate

themselves with a global workforce while distinguishing themselves from blue-collar work and thereby the stereotypified cultural capital associated with Brazil: low-productivity, backwardness, and *o jeitinho brasileiro* (getting away with minimum efforts or avoidance of legal constraints for personal gain). For Brazilians who do not have access to, or consciously choose to resist these narratives, English represents the failure of the modern ideals of Brazil, and perhaps a reality in which they can no longer imagine themselves as Brazilians.

With these complex local issues in mind, the struggle to determine what teaching English as an additional language *should be* is of great interest in current academic research. Many studies in recent years have examined student and teacher experiences at the crossroads of these language planning and policy failures. By locating dissatisfaction with the access to and education content itself, Brazilian educators and linguists have come to reframe the view English from a more critical standpoint. If English is associated with negative forces of globalization that strengthen capitalism and language colonization, it can also become a language of intercultural exploration or social inclusion for the possibilities it offers in terms of access to information and construction of social capital, if the very purposes and pedagogical frameworks are altered to analyze such realities (Finardi, 2014; Rajagopalan & Rajagopalan, 2005).

In tandem with democratic access to internet life, the original, preconceived as one-off opportunities and connections abroad and within Brazil that have created the necessity for English language learning have in turn fostered new relationships and partnerships in global networks that allow Brazilians to participate in the world in new and increasingly inclusive ways. By placing critical intercultural competency at the center language learning (Galante 2015; and others), Brazilian educators hope to recalibrate foreign language pedagogical theory and practice in terms of changing attitudes toward (Almeida, 2012; Araujo, 2015; Brydon, Monte Mor, &

Menezes de Souza, 2010; El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001; Friedrich, 2000; Liberali & Megale 2016; and others) experiences in (Barcelos, 1999; Miccoli, 1997; Regis, 2013) and in turn, changing ownership of (Corcoran, 2011; Diniz de Figuereido 2017; Ferreira da Silva, 2010; Finardi, 2014; Montes, 2016; Mota Pereira, 2016; Szundy, 2016; and others) the English language.

Norton-based Studies on Language Learner Imagined Identity and Investment

Brazilian ELLs. In the Brazilian context, there are several interesting studies on students' identities and EFL which draw on the work of Bonny Norton. These authors approach identity and English language learning, conceptualizing identity from a poststructuralist point of view, i.e., as multiple and changing over time and space (Norton, 2001; Norton Peirce, 1995; among others). Considering the purposes of this thesis, I will briefly review five pieces of research in particular: Longaray (2005; 2009), Rottava & da Silva (2014), Silva (2013), Gil & Oliveira (2014) and Carazzai (2013), all of which carried out studies in the vein of Norton's work in identity and investment in the Brazilian context.

Longaray's two studies (2005, 2009) explore issues on language and identity through her own and others' experience as learner and teacher of English. In the first study, Longaray (2005) examines the continuous process of identity construction inside a class group of 41 EFL students in a public school in Rio Grande do Sul. By triangulating the research through diverse, longitudinal methods as a participant-researcher—through observations, teacher diaries, interviews, questionnaires, and reflective sessions with students, etc.—she analyzed her data qualitatively, taking into consideration the constructs of identity, imagined communities, investment and non-participation (Norton, 2001; among others). Longaray (2005) found that the students had different types of investment in the learning of English and also that the students developed resistance towards the English language which was apparent by means of non-

participation in class. In her second study, Longaray (2009) observed a different group of EFL students, but in the same public school in Rio Grande do Sul. This time, she focused primarily on the students' relationship with English as a global language in addition to identity and investment. Using similar methods as the first study, the author found the students had an ambivalent desire to learn and practice English, often demonstrated by their non-participation in class. Predictably, the participants of the study associated the English language with better economic opportunities and development. In summary, the author shows how both groups reproduced or confronted ideological and cultural values incorporated in the English language during class. Based on her findings, the author proposes the reassessment of the hegemonic power of the English language in Brazilian schools, while also defending the students' rights to have access to the language.

Rottava and da Silva's study (2014) takes a comparative approach to looking at language perceptions of language learners in the UK and Brazil studying Brazilian Portuguese or English/Spanish respectively. This study discusses how these learners' identity characteristics and the reasons why they have chosen to learn the language impact on their perceptions about language learning (investment). The Brazilian Portuguese learners' perceptions will be compared and contrasted with those of Brazilian students learning English and Spanish in Brazil. The research data was collected primarily through an adapted version of the BALLI questionnaire answered by all learners in two contexts, complemented by an interview. The results suggest that students have different perceptions about language learning due to their distinct linguistic backgrounds, the context in which they live, their interests (both professional and personal), and their opportunities to interact, through which they invest in personal, family, cultural, and intercultural relationships. According to the researchers: "identity plays an important role in how

this learning process is delineated in relation to the need to recognize the 'other' as a subject who has the ability to perceive the uniqueness of each situation and the experience of each subject—not something dichotomized between the 'global' or the 'local'—and the impact and importance of each interaction for users of a particular language." Because of this, the learners of Portuguese seem to be at an advantage regarding the use of language and cultural awareness as they live in a multicultural context in which a variety of linguistic backgrounds as well as uses of distinct foreign languages coexist. Also, they appear to have more opportunities to travel which is not the case for most Brazilian learners.

Also in a Brazilian context, Silva (2013), Gil and Oliveira (2014), and Carazzai (2013) investigated university students' identity construction through learning English as an additional language. Both studies heavily draw on the main constructs of Norton's theoretical framework, namely: identity, investment, imagined communities, and resistance.

On the one hand, Silva's (2013) study discusses how the experiences of six English as additional language student-teachers' experiences of learning/using English at college led them to assume different (sometimes contradictory) subject positions and suggests that the identity of the participants as learners/ users of an additional language, and at times as learners of teaching were sites of struggle. In spite of the fact that certain contexts and practices seemed to have hindered the participants from identifying with particular subject positions, the student-teachers showed to be invested in the English practices to find opportunities to practice the language. Furthermore, the participants' communities of practice, whether real or imagined, involved both participation and non-participation.

Gil and Oliveira's (2014) exploratory study about the identity construction of eight student-teachers of English as learners of English as an additional language in Rio Grande do

Norte, Brazil also investigates the types of investments made and the imagined communities aspired to by the participants. Using narrative perspective method for data collection, the findings showed that construction of the identities of the student-teacher participants revolves around two types of investment: those which lead to learning and using the language, and those which lead to learning the English language to teach it. In the analysis, the researchers found that the learner-as-user and learner-as-teacher identities seem to conflate and, in most cases, the learner-as-teacher identity seems to over- ride the learner-as-user identity. The major contributions of the study revolve around the fact that most of the studies carried out on learner identity using Bonny Norton's theoretical approach center on immigrants in contexts where English is used by the community they are living in, whereas in this study the participants are learning English as an additional language in a formal, monolingual EFL context.

Branching away from student-teachers as subjects, Carazzai (2013) investigates the process of identity (re)construction of six Brazilian English language learners at the university. Carazzai's main aim was to try to unveil the participants' identity as learners of English, in which the negotiation of their imagined identity and investments singularly hinged on their subject positions as students. The researcher adopted a similar narrative data elicitation method, in which participants revealed they went through a process of identity (re)construction while learning English in the EFL context. Similar to the other participants in studies mentioned thus far, Carazzai's subjects had invested in learning English from childhood, hoping to acquire material and/or symbolic resources. In the university classroom, the students participated more in class when they felt confident and validated, and resorted to non-participation when they were positioned in undesirable ways (echoing Norton's findings). Moreover, the results show that families greatly influence students' learning of English, and that learning happens mostly in

informal contexts, thus the educational contexts function as appendices. The participants had different imagined communities related to people with whom the participants wished to connect through English, such as virtual (internet) partners, as well as people with more power, experience, knowledge and/or status, and who respect and value diversity. Finally, although the participants wanted to be in contact with the world using the English language, they often felt marginalized and separated from other speakers and users of the language. Of the five studies mentioned above, Carazzai's (2013) dissertation has provided the strongest basis for the present study in terms of theoretical positioning, scope, and methodology for research of Brazilian ELLs.

Other populations. There seems to have been a marked shift in research in the last 5 years in attempt to address the former lack of EFL and other FL identity construction contexts (Carazzai (2013), Gil & Oliveira, 2014; Kearney, 2004; Kinginger, 2004; Lam, 2000; Longaray, 2005; Rottava & da Silva, 2014; Silva, 2013; 2009; and others). The following section will look at several other related studies that examine different populations and contexts than that of the participants in the present study, and that use Norton's principles and methodology as a guiding theoretical framework. While they do not address the language context-specific factors that influence identity negotiation and investment for Brazilian ELLS, they reveal other critical areas of the intersection of these processes, as well as the possibility for similar processes to occur given the international character of English. I also want to mention these studies because they inform my methodology and analysis of my findings (Chapters III-IV). I will first summarize the studies of Saito (2017), Shahri (2018), and Sung (2014) as they address the EFL learning context in terms of identity for ELLs, and then I will turn to six other investigations which look at the identity negotiation processes for ESL or other SL learners abroad: Gearing and Roger (2017), Mendoza (2015), Gallucci (2013), Kinginger (2004), Kearney (2004), and Lam (2000).

Language learner identity in EFL contexts. Saito (2017) looks to understand the ways in which people perform the nationhood ideology in identity construction in regard to language policy. The article explores the construction of attitudes and identity amidst the local and global flows of English within the Japanese EFL context. Through discourse analysis of interviews and essays, the findings suggest language policy and popular discourses on English do interact with each other, with subjects exercising agency in the construction of their identity. Her results point to how a dominant discourse about a language can "intermediate in the reproduction of modes of perception, behavior, and identity as these relate to language policy" and how a "cosmopolitan repertoire" (available to some through English language learning) is at odds with this (2017). Saito argues the cosmopolitan repertoire can be conceptualized as a kind of "internalized globalization from within the national societies capable of transforming everyday consciousness and identities significantly" (2017, p. 282). The process of this identity work is a complex one contested among multiple repertoires, and the dominant position will continue to be negotiated among the opposing discourses on English in Japan, which I believe can also be extended to Brazil and other EFL contexts.

Shahri's (2018) study investigates the intersection of language learner identity and foreign language engagement in an EFL context, specifically drawing on the concepts of voice, Bakhtin's (1981) theory of language, and the notion of investment (Norton Peirce, 1995) to examine voice construction by EFL learners in Iran. Through classroom observations, biographical and sociolinguistic interviews, and learner metalinguistic commentary, the study reveals how the two participants invest in two different voices that index their efforts toward the construction of a second language-mediated [imagined] identity (Shahri, 2018). The two learners are shown to gravitate toward informal and formal English words differently in order to use them

in their speech in ways that are illustrative of how they envision their engagement with English both in the present and in the future. In other words, they built their voices on the basis of beliefs about how language is linked to social identity, causing consequent fluctuating levels of investment in English, which are ideologically positioned in opposition to the grammar-based, non-communicatively-focused official English language instruction policy in the Iranian educational system.

Sung's (2014) exploratory inquiry into the perceptions of a group of second language (L2) learners of English with regard to their identities in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) communication contexts. Drawing upon data gathered from interviews with nine participants from a Hong Kong university, the study found that these ELL learners displayed different degrees of affiliations with their local and global identities in ELF communication. While some participants expressed their preference to foreground either their local or global identities, some other participants reconciled their local and global identities and embraced their hybrid, glocal identities in ELF communication. The analysis suggests that ELF communication could offer a myriad of identity options for L2 learners and give rise to hybrid linguistic practices in their L2. Finally, the paper points to the need to acknowledge the role of individuality in identity construction in ELF settings.

***Language learner identity in L2 contexts*.** Moving beyond EFL learning contexts in a formal educational setting, Gearing and Roger's (2017) study of 14 English-speaking EFL instructors living and working in South Korea examined the investment practices they used as connected with learning and using the Korean language. Using Norton's concepts of investment and identity, interview data to explore how attempts to negotiate membership into local communities of practice affected participants' investment in Korean, as well as the ways in

which participants interpreted and reacted to perceived inequities of power between themselves and these communities of practice. This study found that the ways in which participants perceived that they were positioned as native English speakers tended to work against sustained investment in Korean language learning, as potential returns in terms of valued forms of capital seemed very limited. For the vast majority of participants, entry into local communities of practice did not occur, but where they felt a sense of belonging, investment in the L2 was seen as a key to enabling deeper levels of engagement.

Mendoza's (2015) study on the narratives of eight international graduate students in Canada reveal that those who attended international schools and were immersed in Western popular and academic culture prior to their arrival were advantaged in academic, professional, and social contexts. Findings suggest that each international student must draw on her/his specific linguistic repertoire and intellectual resources to effectively navigate real and imagined communities. Mendoza posits that a naturally occurring strategy of drawing on personal intellectual resources, like expertise in a particular field, helped the participants gain entrance to international professional communities and consequently scaffold the learning of English for specific purposes. She claims that individual linguistic and intellectual resources become more useful for navigating imagined communities than increased English fluency for general communicative purposes, which is not a particularly unique form of cultural capital. Because the study's participants demonstrated a high proficiency of spoken English for general communicative purposes, this alone did not prove to give them a competitive edge in professional contexts or social currency in the host society.

Gallucci's (2013) study observed how two British university students negotiated their identity as second language learners during a year abroad in Italy and the extent to which their

struggles helped them to ‘fit in’ into the new social and cultural contexts. In their struggles to negotiate or resist the shaping of new linguistic identities, the participants showed different degrees of agency, reflecting the intensity of their language learning desire and their willingness to accept, avoid or contest institutional discourses of power and to engage in counter-discourses. When confronted with power asymmetries, both participants chose to position themselves in powerful rather than marginalized positions. Gallucci argues that the extent to which individuals are prepared to negotiate second-language identities, or conversely to resist them, can be directly influenced by the ways in which they perceive their relationships to the new contexts and by the ways in which such relationships are constructed over time and across space. She also argues that the continuous evolution of identities tends to change more rapidly in new sociocultural contexts, such as those embedded in specific experiences of border crossing.

Kinginger (2004) offers a report of a longitudinal study with an American learner (Alice) studying French as a FL both in USA and in an immersion course in France, focusing on her shifting identity and her imagined community. The findings from the interpretive analysis of data collected from interviews, journal writing, e-mails and letters exchanged with the participant indicated that the she invested in her learning of French in an attempt to break free from the social conditions that kept her from the privileges of travel. She imagined France as a place filled with refined and cultured people who would have interest in her. Because the participant did not feel that she gained enough practice in class, she often did not participate and eventually decided to abandon the course to focus on speaking practices that she found in informal contexts. Despite her ambivalence during the learning process, the participant ultimately invested in the French language with the hope to have access to knowledge and culture and to become a teacher, as this

was her professional aspiration, increasing thus her cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). In return, she hoped to share her knowledge with others, seeing her learning of French as a mission.

Kearney (2004) presents the results of an exploratory study in which three other FL learners formed new identities while learning French, as well as the kinds of resources they drew upon as learners. Employing ethnographic methods for data generation and analysis, Kearney identifies the students' 'identity narratives' (based on Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) and finds that each student drew on a different kind of resource in order to deal with the activity of learning French. These resources include work and parenthood experience, curiosity and sense of humor, and developing theories of language learning. The results also indicated that since the beginning of the course, the learners were shaping and reshaping their identities.

Lam (2000) focused on how one Chinese ESL student in the U.S. constructed his identity and simultaneously developed his literacy by engaging in computer mediated communication. The participant did not have many connections with the American community, since he lived in a Chinese community and studied in a bilingual Chinese/English school, making his language learning environment closer to an FL rather than SL context. The findings from the thematic and discourse analysis of the resulting ethnographic data indicated that the participant used computer games and the internet in order to be in contact with pop culture and everyday English, rather than the standard one he was exposed to in class. In this way, he constructed his identity as a member the internet community he aspired to rather than as a language learner in a formal context.

Comparing the results of all nine studies I reviewed in this subsection, it is possible to notice that while studying a FL or a SL language, students seem to go through some changes and reshape their identities and have ambivalent investments in their target language. These

investigations also indicate that language students often feel marginalized both academically and socially, particularly when interacting with people who have more power and who may act as gatekeepers to their imagined communities (to the job market, or the society, educational or governmental institutions). Moreover, the findings of the studies also indicate that learners tend to value the target language for its instrumental value, and tend to have an idealized view of the target language, hoping to have more status in society and more opportunities, especially related to work and career, and a better life as a reward from their learning, in other words, learners hope to increase their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). In order to temper the barriers to language investment, the language learners develop strategies in which they implicate their identity processes in navigating their second language use.

Points of Departure for the Present Study

The preceding sections of this chapter served to (1) establish the theoretical framework based on Norton's poststructuralist concepts of identity, language and investment (2000) for the parameters of the present study, (2) to give contextual information about how language policy and ideology in Brazil creates preconditions for processes of identity construction and language learning investment may occur, and (3) to present a review of recent and relevant research within Norton's conceptual frame. Before discussing the method used in the present study, I would like to end this chapter by previewing some gaps in the present research which I hope to address in the crafting of my research questions, data collection, and consequent analysis of findings.

Investment and identity in informal vs. formal language learning contexts. As in most of the studies examined so far, the ultimate goal of observing the relationship between identity and second or additional language learning is to provide language educators with a clearer view into the role of social, sociocultural, and sociolinguistic factors that can affect a

language learner's identity in the classroom setting. It is assumed then, that the ways in which these factors can cause identity change can also complicate or enable language learning or acquisition, which presumably is ultimately measured and assessed in formal contexts. Before the official publication of his Monitor Model on comprehensible input (1985), Krashen published a study on preceding literature that looked into how both formal and informal linguistic environments contribute to second language proficiency in adults, but do so in different ways. Whereas an "intensive-intake" informal environment can provide both the adult and child with the necessary input for the operation of the language acquisition device, the formal linguistic environment of the classroom, can provide rule isolation and metalinguistic feedback for the development of the monitor.

While enduringly seminal research, Krashen's work does not consider is the importance of the socioconstructivist factors in language acquisition such as relationship building, communication for specific social purposes, and intercultural competency. As we have observed above, the classroom, and particularly, the language classroom, is not a neutral space in which acquisition hinges singularly on the teacher's ability to maintain the input and the student's motivation to follow the input. Such an inherently limited transactional view of language education does not address the complex cultural meaning(s) embedded in language policy, ideology, and language itself. Informal language environments have the potential for providing socioculturally meaningful input that can address the socioconstructivist factors of language acquisition described above. The present study seeks to explore how Brazilian ELLs view the role of informal language learning not only in their investment in their English language learning experience but also in their self-concepts. There is an exigency to reimagine language learning and teaching as a recursive, holistic process that critically engages in these contexts of

oppositional subject positions and newly emergent understandings about who comprise speech communities of a language, and which of those communities exert ownership over that language.

L2 identity and investment in the reentry context. Another point I wish to problematize in this study is whether a context of language learning should not only be limited to either the FL or the SL. Researchers, teachers and learners of language alike can attest to how learning another language in one's home context is incomparable to learning it abroad, particularly in a "native" context. By logical extension, the previously mentioned research has shown that identity development and language investment is highly dependent on the context of language learning. In spite of this, little inquiry has examined how L2 identity construction is maintained and/or problematized when L2 learners face the challenges of a sojourn abroad and make the return to their home context given the specific factors of both of those contexts. The present study seeks to incorporate the concept of "reentry" as a third context in which L2 identities are negotiated (Hao, 2012; Kim, 2001). Research in this area has not yet fully entered into the field of linguistics; however, there are some studies that focus on this issue from other disciplines which I will briefly bring to attention.

Gray and Savicki's (2015) study attempted to quantify two important aspects of reentry (behavioral re-adaptation and emotional response) in the context of measured factors that might impact the intensity of reentry challenges. In the past, research on reentry has only served to study "reverse culture shock" and the W-curve framework (Westwood, Lawrence, & Paul, 1986), whereas more recent perspectives view it as simultaneously involving confusion as well as opportunities for sojourners to ratify and re-construe their encounters with a foreign culture in a way that enhances a sense of self in an intercultural world (Selby, 2008). Gray and Savicki (2015) argue that international educators and advisors should complicate their view of how

students return home, both in terms of the overemphasis of negative responses to the reentry as well as how this experience can help students to become more critically reflective about themselves.

Intersectional reflexivity of the sojourner's identity(ies) also appears in Eguchi and Baig's (2017) article, in which the authors approach cultural reentry by emphasizing the body, affect, and performance through their collaborative sharing of stories. Through a series of reflections on their embodied experiences of crossing borders and struggling with the notion of home(s), the authors view their own global mobility in the structural systems of privilege and marginalization from a critical standpoint. The three themes that outline their narratives are racialized mobility, the feeling of being away from "home," and performing in-betweenness. These sites of identity negotiation implicate language, and should therefore have a place in the conversation about imagined identities and investment.

In terms of research on Brazilian sojourners, there are two works I would like to mention. Bessa's (2013) dissertation (for Psychology) draws from literature on acculturation, acculturative stress and gender roles as they relate to the experiences of Latin American immigrant groups—particularly Brazilian immigrant women—a group which has been understudied. Her interview-based qualitative research project utilizes a phenomenological approach focusing on the personal lived experiences of Brazilian immigrant women in the United States. The ten interviews conducted revealed the ways in which women's immigration experiences intersect with their multiple identities, and the ways in which those identities are shaped and negotiated during the transformative immigration experience. Though linguistic identity was not the primary focus, the participants do discuss how English enters into the negotiations of their complex identities.

The other research is a co-constructed, autoethnographic, performative narrative in which two Brazilian scholars Diversi and Moreira (2016) explore the identity spaces "in-between." This collaborative narrative looks at the difference of experiences between their own biographies, one raised privileged, the other poor; between the experience of being raised in Brazil and finding acceptance in United States universities; between their lives in the academic establishment and their studies of poverty in Latin America; between the constraints of apolitical scholarship and the need to promote social justice; between contrasting styles of researching, theorizing, and writing. Their critical dialogue seeks to decolonize the world of American scholarship and promote the use of research toward inclusive social justice. As researcher-participants who cross borders physically, culturally, and theoretically both within and outside of Brazil, Diversi and Moreira (2016) critically reflect on their identities, specifically in terms of how language can affect their ability to translate their identity negotiation process, and the overlaps between ownership of language and ownership of experience.

Considering these two additional factors in L2 identity negotiation—formal versus informal language learning environments and the impact of reentry—I will return to the goals of the present study. The research questions of this thesis seek to follow Norton's frameworks of imagined identities/communities and investment, explore Brazilian ELL experiences in the intersection global and local sociolinguistic contexts in formal and informal language learning environments, and investigate the strategies that these learners use to negotiate and critically reflect about the negotiation of their identities.

Chapter III: Research Methodology and Method

The following chapter will apply some seminal theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches that have informed preceding research in the study of identity, language learning, and contexts of language use discussed in the literature review to the proposed method for the current study on Brazilian English language learners' imagined L2 identities and communities in English as a foreign language.

Justification of Method

Epistemological assumptions for methodologies in language and identity research. As our exploration into the existing post-structural and sociocultural research has come to reveal, the methods required for investigating the intersection between identity positions and language learning are necessarily complex. Methods that rely on static, inherent, and measurable learner 'variables' are not appropriate for the majority of these approaches because they are not equipped to both ask the right kinds of questions to elicit data, or to holistically and authentically analyze that data from a critical perspective. The focus on issues of equity and power within the area of research on language and identity requires qualitative research designs that are informed by critical, emergent analyses. The methods that many scholars use in identity approaches to language learning therefore often draw on critical ethnography, feminist post-structuralist theory, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology. In this vein, research should reject any claim to be objective or unbiased, and should demonstrate reflexivity about experiences and perspectives. This is not an indication that qualitative research is lacking in rigor, but that it is inherently situated, and that the researchers and their tools are integral to the ethical implications of the participants and research itself (Norton, 2010).

The qualitative interpretive paradigm: Constructionism, phenomenology, and related theories of analysis. Qualitative research is concerned with how human experiences are created and how they are given meaning. As a methodology, qualitative inquiry seeks to understand the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Within this sphere, interpretive research aims to develop a better understanding of a particular phenomenon, and to view it through the eyes of those experiencing it through an authentic description using the language and focus of the subjects. The interpretive researcher is concerned with how people situate themselves and make sense of their world(s), by examining the ways meanings are expressed and how they constitute reality for those who expressed them.

Interpretive research accomplishes these goals by focusing on specific issues or on small numbers of people, and by gathering a large amount of detailed, "thick" descriptions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The purpose of gathering and generating this kind of data is not to measure, predict, or control "human phenomena," as is the purpose of quantitative inquiry, but rather to describe the phenomena within their own contexts to better understand them, allowing for cross-comparisons to similar events or groups (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The interpretive paradigm also reimagines the role of the researcher by admitting s/he is not an objective or neutral observer, but rather s/he develops her/his knowledge along with the research subjects, and through this process make discoveries about the unfolding phenomenon that is being studied (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Within the qualitative-interpretive paradigm are located two more specified theoretical guiding principles—constructionism and phenomenology—which are relevant to the present study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Constructionism, as developed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas

Luckmann (1967), views humans as “active, creative, and reflective,” but still “operating within certain structural and cultural restraints.” As an interpretive paradigm, constructionism possesses its own ways of viewing and interpreting the social world, which then inform and create the ontological, epistemological, and methodological questions used to develop the methods in interpretive research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The constructionist worldview requires the following suppositions as articulated by Guba and Lincoln (1994): ontological questions are relative, given the assumption that multiple and alterable meanings are possible for constructions of reality; epistemological questions are inter-subjective, in that both the researcher and the participant actively create understandings and discover realities together; and methodological questions are hermeneutical and dialectical, in that they are designed to foster interpretation and interaction for the co-discoverers of the realities. According to the authors, it is this “dialectical interchange” with others that allows for the interpretation of the construction to occur (p. 111). The constructionist worldview and its related methodologies look at the role of communication, interaction, and language as a way of describing and interpreting the everyday construction of relative and subjective realities. By logical extension, then, one of the most appropriate ways of observing these socially constructed realities, or, in other words, how experiences are experienced, is by studying the feelings, thoughts, and perceptions of individuals directly involved in certain phenomena understanding how people experience certain phenomena.

Linking with constructivist assumptions, phenomenological research attempts to uncover deeper meanings and give appropriate language in the naming of social events as experienced, constructed, and understood by their participants (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). As a methodology, phenomenological research takes the embodied, experiencing agent as the starting-point—as an

active participant in social processes and as an individual thinker with agency who tries to attribute meaning to their experiences so they can better interpret them. Since the experiences of social actors are the focus of this type of research, their feelings, thoughts, and perceptions reveal the meanings they create for things in their consciousness (Tucker, 2001). In this sense, the phenomenological approach is "relational," or "non-dualist," as it is concerned with the actors' descriptions of their experiences (Pierson, 2006). Uncovering these meanings is central to revealing phenomenological knowledge (Tucker, 2001). Because this methodology considers the impact of social events on human emotion and agency, recognizes the human need to ascribe meaning to experiences, and is principally concerned with the use of language in naming the variables at hand, I believe it is relevant to the present study on linguistic identity. I will describe some of the specific assumptions that have been applied to my research design below.

Within phenomenological research, researchers are encouraged to approach their data without preconceived conclusions by framing their analysis in terms of questions that seek to learn about the importance of a particular phenomenon (Pierson, 2006). Orbe (2002), encourages a reframing of the notion of "hypothesis," in which the researcher should inductively attempt to interpret the "descriptive lived experiences to which the person gives consciousness" rather than merely observe whether the expected outcomes took place or not. These "lived experiences" should help both the researcher and participant to gain a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of one's everyday experiences (p. 78). In practice, the researcher should attempt to locate banal or trivial occurrences in order to shed light on experiences that occur in our subconscious, and how these translate into cultural ideologies and customs within a larger context. In terms of revealing aspects and descriptions of participant identities, which are on

many levels too abstract to give language to until the prompting integrated into the research design, a phenomenological approach may help to mitigate this issue methodologically.

As a poststructuralist methodology, Orbe (2002) suggests that phenomenological research challenges the linguistic discourse in the act of partaking in the research itself. By using the term of "persons" or "participants" over "individuals" or "subjects," the researcher acknowledges that the "persons" studied are multidimensional, complex actors from a particular social, cultural, and historical life circumstances with different levels of agency (p. 79). By giving research subjects "personhood," the researcher not only acknowledges the underlying complexity of how these "persons" construct the reality of the experiences shared as data, but also in their co-construction of reality in the collaborative performance of conducting the research itself. The present inquiry in this thesis seeks to maintain these guiding principles through the use of "participants" and "narrators." Similarly, the researcher is viewed as less of an observer and more as an active participant in the construction of the research project. As a researcher with personal connections to and/or investment in the linguistic context of language contact between English and Portuguese in Brazil, my very active role as researcher is integrated into the analysis from a phenomenological perspective.

Lindolf and Taylor (2002) describe the reimagined role of researchers in phenomenological inquiry as a slight departure from ethnographic research. While both phenomenology and ethnography are exploratory, both employ similar data collection instruments—particularly interviews using a combination of open-ended and structured questions—both look for meaning in narrative as analysis, and both promote a self-conscious stance to research, some notable differences do exist. While the phenomenological researcher attempts to understand the world through her/his own existence in it, and by participating in

dialogue within personal interviews, the ethnographic researcher tries to understand the meanings people give to their social world by totally immersing her/himself in that culture or group for extended periods of time as a participant observer. In this environment, the researcher collects data primarily through ethnographic interviews and through observations of interactions, events, and speech. Phenomenological researchers place emphasis on the interpretive process, allowing their personal biases and historical understandings to inform their interpretations and subsequent new meanings that are discovered. Contrastively, ethnographers look for broad themes to explain social processes by applying grounded theory to their analyses.

The primary aim for the phenomenologist is to use language and narrative to ascertain the nature of being and to understand and interpret phenomena by revealing the hidden meanings behind them (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The ethnographer's aim is to describe social settings and cultural knowledge, which are understood through examining the relationships between social actors and their world, and individual and shared cultural values. Uncovering the meanings embedded within the narratives shared in the present study involves both the phenomenological perspective relational, co-constitutive act of the research and its original purpose as well as information collected ethnographically to help locate the research within a specific intercultural and interlinguistic contact zone in greater metropolitan Brazil. Though the semi-structured interviews (which are the primary data collection instruments) are informed by the phenomenological approach in their design and application as a way to facilitate the discussion of highly abstract and unexamined experiences, the thematic analysis follows grounded theory because it is necessary to locate the naming of these experiences in the participants' multiple and complex sociolinguistic contexts.

Research Design

The present study required a primarily qualitative focus because it would have likely been counterproductive and inappropriate to quantitatively test potential subjects on their conceptualizations of their identity(ies). Because the research questions at hand pose an inquiry into the strategies used by adult English language learners to form and negotiate and reflect on imagined L2 identities and communities at the intersection of formal and informal sites of language learning, I employed qualitative research design for both my data collection and analysis methods. Qualitative semi-structured interviews served as the primary means of data elicitation, with the support of a pre-interview inventory questionnaire and post-interview questions serving to confirm that data. I wanted my study to both answer my research questions in terms of language learning strategies and new language surrounding L2 identity in English and also to provide learners with the exigency and opportunity to reflect on their experiences. This combination will give individuals multiple opportunities (presented in divergent formats) to share their insights and experiences, and will help in reliable analysis later on.

Given the feasibility restraints of my research collection period, I sought to conduct interviews with a community that I had been given access to through developing relationships over time as I visited Brazil, which allowed for concentrated, instantiated meetings to break into the kind of discussion that would reveal data that could be interpreted to answer my preliminary research findings, while not requiring too much time and effort on the part of my participants.

Semi-structured interviews: Narratives through conversations that matter. When crafting data collection instruments that followed qualitative, interpretive, and phenomenological research designs, there were three main considerations. First, as pointed out by Carazzai (2013), most research in SLA has historically focused on the ‘here-and-now’ or ‘in process’ descriptions

of the second language learning process by learners and researchers. In their research designs, Norton, Pavlenko, and Lantolf, and others seek to "establish 'retroactive' first-person narratives as a legitimate source of data on the learning process by teasing out in a theoretically informed way insights provided by the life stories of people who have struggled through cultural border crossings" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, pp. 157-158). My research follows in this vein by exchanging written personal narratives for an instantiated, reflective dialogue in the form of an extended, semi-structured interview.

Pavlenko (1998) and Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) use "self-translation" as a unifying metaphor to describe changes in identity, which entails a phase of continuous loss followed later by an overlapping second phase of reconstruction. The authors conclude that "it is ultimately through their own intentions and agency that people decide to undergo or not undergo the frequently agonizing process of linguistic, cultural, and personal transformation documented in the preceding narratives" (2000, p. 171). Such a decision is influenced by many factors, but most often is related to the power relations between the discourses involved to the person's positioning in the native discourse. This research is relevant to SLA theory in that it suggests that "failure to attain a second language is an issue that arises from the imposition of the third-person objectivist perspective informed by a particular linguistic ideology based on the NS/NNS dichotomy" (p. 170). Pavlenko, Lantolf, Norton, and others have revealed that one's linguistic competence in a new culture reflects a process of transformation rather than one of replacement, in which the ultimate outcome represents an identity that is not exclusively anchored in one culture/language or another. When we understand that "crossing a border is about 'renarratizing' a life," we must give language learners the opportunity to reflect on their transformative processes (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 174).

Second, beyond the self-evident evaluative processes of attributing prestige through linguistic markers, identity researchers must account for not only how structural conditions and social practices place individuals, but also how individuals struggle to situate themselves in the contexts in which they find themselves. For example, identity features like race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and other structural issues that might be associated with inequalities in access to language learning will have multiple and differing effects on how learners negotiate their identities. Methods for examining L2 learning and identity should not only pay close attention to how individuals are placed by common societal practices, but also how they place themselves by engaging in societal practices in innovative ways.

A third consideration that identity researchers must incorporate into their methodologies is a better understanding of how political and economic issues interact with language learning by constraining or enabling human agency. Such researchers often draw on Foucault's (1980) insights about the relationship between knowledge and power, and the subtle and complex ways in which power circulates in society. Foucault's conceptualization of power as discursively produced and reproduced is of special interest to language educators as they investigate particular learning environments and how they privilege or stigmatize learners. Because of this, there has been a strong methodological focus on learner and teacher narratives, collected either through fieldwork or autobiographies/biographies because of the potential for interconnectivity and collaboration between researchers, teachers, and students (Norton, 2000). My study seeks to complicate the use of this oft examined population because of the changing nature of language learning itself as a result of wider access to informal learning environments which have emerged from the interconnectivity of increasing migration and the internet. Questions of power, status and knowledge as attached to language (and Global English in particular) also play nuanced roles

in the reintegration of sojourners in their home countries—a conversation which is seldom had in poststructuralist research on language and identity.

Indeed, the interview as a social practice is constituted by complex relations of power itself. As Talmy (2010) notes, "who chooses what—and what not—to discuss; who asks what questions, when, and how; who is ratified to answer them (and who is not); who determines when to terminate a line of questioning" are potentially important asymmetries that must be taken into account not only as a part of the researcher's conduct in the interview interaction but also in her analysis and interpretive stance. Briggs (2007) states: "power lies not just in controlling how discourse unfolds in the context of its production but [in] gaining control over its recontextualization—shaping how it draws on other discourses and contexts and when, where, how, and by whom it will be subsequently used" (p. 562). In consideration of the need to reframe interviews from a "resource for extracting data within a univocal respondent" in the form of direct reports guided by anxiety about researcher bias, I will attempt to create in my method what Talmy (2010) calls "interview as social practice." Here, the interview is a site for investigation itself in which accounts of phenomena, jointly produced by interviewer and interviewee are developed together by a "fundamentally reflexive orientation to the collaborative character of knowledge production and data generation" (Talmy, 2010). In the data analysis then, attention is directed both to the "what" and "how," that is, the content and the linguistic and/or interactional resources used in co-constructing content and locally achieving the interview as speech event. It is in this environment that the possibility for authentic linguistic expressions of identity and self-translation may more freely occur.

Participants

The participants chosen to partake in the data collection were 10 Brazilian English Language learners who met specific selection criteria. They must have either attended university or professional-level English classes in Brazil and/or in an English-speaking country, but also spent extensive time (at least 6 months) in an English-speaking country as a requirement for qualification. Participants were selected to reflect different stages of their language learning, both formally and informally, but also because they were readily available to meet during the data collection period, shared the same age range (between 20 and 60 years), native language (Brazilian Portuguese), level of education (high school graduate), and nationality (Brazilian).

Participants were also chosen to address the consideration of presenting a range of experiences, resulting in a final group with a nearly symmetrical gender balance of 6 females and 4 males, some additional L1s and L2s as well as diverse socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds. These additional characteristics were key in helping me to illustrate how differing individual and collective factors in the complication of L2 identity formation and negotiation emerge. I was able to recruit the participants through face-to-face, social media, and email announcements with the assistance of my pre-existing contacts and connections in São Paulo state and Rio de Janeiro. Interviewees were also invited to participate via skype and/or email as needed, depending on whether follow-up interviews or discussions for clarification were to arise. All permissions from the participant to remain in contact were included in the informed consent and release form. The following information included in the participant profiles is available in the tables in Tables 1 below. Additional information can be found in Tables 2 (p. 236) and 3 (p. 237).

Brief profile of participants (pseudonyms used.

Isabela. My first participant, Isabela, 29 years old and now a receptionist, had returned from her first ever stint in the U.S. 4 months prior. She was studying and visiting her mother who recently married an American for six months in Orlando, Florida. She was initially exposed to English in public elementary school, and then went on to take private classes at a language school during her adolescence. While she was in Florida, she took ESL classes at a local private institution. She describes her English language level as intermediate, and listed her total time learning as 2.5 years. Her current use of English is almost entirely personal; she occasionally socializes with some English-speaking Brazilian friends, watches films and series, and reads extensively to "keep up on her language." She participated in the interview in Portuguese.

Daniel. Daniel, 27, is an architect in São Paulo State. He has had more extensive experience in the U.S. because of his year and a half program of study at the University of Kansas and later an internship in Los Angeles. He has been back in Brazil for over 3 years, and now uses his English for mostly personal ends, such as listening to music, watching series and films, and socializing. He began learning English in public high school but also opted to take private classes in preparation for his study abroad experience in the United States. Daniel listed his total time studying English as two years and describes his language level as intermediate-proficient, and has also studied French. He openly identifies himself as a member of the LGBTQIA community, and is one of the two participants who described themselves "non-white." He participated in the interview using both English and Portuguese.

Eduardo. Eduardo, 29, is a video editor in São Paulo. He was first exposed to English in public elementary school and then continued his study of the language in private classes throughout his adolescence, university and early professional career. He has travelled to the U.S.

for numerous periods of more than 2 months, with the longest stay being 6 months. Unlike the other participants, Eduardo has never taken ESL courses abroad because his primary reason for leaving Brazil was to visit family and to travel within the United States. He indicated that because of his longtime contact with English both in classes and in family visits, he has studied the language for 12 years, and describes his language level as intermediate-proficient. Eduardo reported his current use of English is related to his work at a production company as well as in his personal relationships. He participated in the interview in English.

Fernanda. At 23, the systems analyst is the youngest participant in this study. She first began studying English in private classes as an adolescent, eventually culminating in a year and half studying IT abroad at three different universities in the United States. She returned to Brazil 3 years ago and now uses English in her cosmopolitan workplace, an international communications corporation in São Paulo, as well as in some personal areas such as social media and watching series and movies and listening to music. Fernanda is originally from a community in the periphery of São Paulo and was awarded a government scholarship to pursue her studies abroad. She is the other participant who identifies as "non-white." Fernanda listed four total years of English study and described her language level as proficient. She participated in the interview in English.

Carlos. Carlos, 34, is an audiovisual producer/editor in São Paulo state. He began studying English in private elementary school and took additional courses with a private tutor until his 1-year study and work experience in Calgary, Canada as an adult. During his time abroad, he studied English at a private language institute that established the exchange program for Brazilians for 3 months and worked at a Canadian video production company for the rest of his stay. He has been back in Brazil for several years, and now uses his English in both his

personal life by helping his girlfriend learn the language or for entertainment, and in his professional network. He describes himself as an avid language learner, and in addition to listing English proficiency after studying the language for 9.5 years, he has also studied German. He participated in the interview in Portuguese.

Camila. Camila, 44, is the executive director of a Jewish nonprofit organization in Rio de Janeiro. She learned English as a young child when her parents were working and living in the U.S. for a year. Upon her return to Brazil, she continued her study in a private elementary school as well as in private classes in a language school. Beyond some shorter 1-month stints abroad, she went back to the U.S. to go to graduate school for 2 years and ended up working there for another 6 years. She considers the number of years she spent studying the English language (not "simply being able to speak in English") as 12 total. She has been back in Brazil for several years, and now uses her English in her personal life by fostering her children's English language acquisition at home and maintaining connections abroad, but also professionally at her place of work. Camila is a simultaneous multilingual individual who also speaks Spanish, French, and Hebrew in addition to her self-described "fluent" English. She participated in the interview in English.

Aline. Aline, 57, is a social worker in Rio de Janeiro. She reported that she has spent 10 years studying English, beginning in private school and in private classes at a language school at the same time as a child and teenager. Her first experience abroad was for 6 months through an exchange program at an international school in the U.K. at age 16. Later, during university, she studied in New York for another 6 months. She has returned to both countries numerous times since her original sojourn but only for short visits. Her use of English now is limited to her personal life, in which she socializes with a few American relatives and also enjoys in

entertainment and news in English. In addition to her self-described “fluent” English, she speaks Hebrew to a lesser extent. Aline participated in the interview in Portuguese.

Elena. Elena, 37, is an engineer in Rio de Janeiro. She reported that she has spent 25 years studying English, beginning in private school and in private classes at a language school at the same time as a child, then as a teenager, and finally as an adult. Her first experience abroad was as a part of an exchange program in university through which she studied in Texas A&M for a year and then worked 6 months afterward. Elena later returned to study for her master’s degree and continue work for another 4 years. She has been back in Brazil for several years, and now uses her English in her personal life by fostering her children’s English language acquisition at home and for her own enjoyment of entertainment, news, and other knowledge resources online. She describes her language level as proficient. Elena participated in the interview in Portuguese.

Livia. Livia, 52, is a teacher in Rio de Janeiro. She reported that she has spent 12 years studying English, beginning in private school and in private classes at a language school at the same time as a child and teenager. Her first experiences abroad were as a child visiting family in the U.S., but she never stayed more than a few weeks at a time. When she was newly married, she accompanied her husband as he studied an advanced degree in the U.S. for 4 years. During this period, she took ESL classes at the same university as her husband and worked as a preschool teacher. It has been more than 30 years since this extensive sojourn, and Livia’s use of English now is limited to her personal life, in which she socializes with a few American relatives and also enjoys in entertainment and news in English. Because of the considerable amount of time that has passed since her return to Brazil, she believes her level of English is now intermediate, though she felt fluent when she left the United States. She also speaks Hebrew to a lesser extent. Livia participated in the interview in Portuguese.

Lucas. Lucas, 25, is an economist in Rio de Janeiro. He began studying English in private elementary school and took additional courses at a private language school until his 6-month study abroad experience at University of California, Berkley as a young adult. During his time abroad he studied courses in his area and did not study the English language. He has been back in Brazil for several years, and now uses his English in both his personal life for travel, reading and entertainment, as well as occasionally in his workplace. Lucas reported that he has studied English for 10 years, and describes his language level as "fluent." He participated in the interview in Portuguese.

Table 1

Demographic Information

Name	**Age**	**Gender**	**Occupation**	**Years of English Study**	**Self-described Language Level**	**Current contexts of English Use**	**Other Languages Spoken**
Isabela	29	F	Receptionist	2.5	Intermediate	Social, Personal Study; Reading	--
Daniel	27	M	Architect	2	Intermediate-Proficient	Social	French
Eduardo	28	M	Video Editor	12	Intermediate-Proficient	Work, Social, Intimate Relationship	--
Fernanda	23	F	Systems Analyst	4	Proficient	Work	Spanish
Carlos	34	M	Audiovisual Producer/editor	9.5	Proficient	Work, Study, Social	German
Camila	44	F	Executive Director of Jewish Nonprofit	12	Fluent	Work, Personal study, Social	Spanish, French, Hebrew
Aline	57	F	Social Worker	10	Fluent	Social	Hebrew
Elena	37	F	Engineer	25	Proficient	Work, personal study; reading, movies/series	--
Livia	52	F	Teacher	12	Intermediate	Social, Work	Hebrew
Lucas	25	M	Economist	10	Fluent	Travel, work, personal; reading	Hebrew, Spanish

Materials

Semi-structured interviews. This thesis seeks to analyze and draw its conclusions as related to the research questions from qualitative data obtained through individual interviews with all participants. The semi-structured interviews have been developed using Creswell's (2007) model for qualitative interviews, which includes the following: selecting appropriate candidates for the interview, constructing effective questions, implementing the interviews, and analyzing the data. All interviews were conducted in Portuguese and/or English by the researcher, so as to remove language proficiency as a limiting factor. If the participant preferred English, this mode was also accepted and included in the data analysis. Interview materials shared by the researcher and participant were available in both Portuguese and English as well. All interviews were audio-recorded using two modes: (1) a hand-held Olympus digital recorder and mobile microphone system and (2) the recording software Audacity using my personal computer's internal microphone. Two methods of audio-recording were used in the case that one would fail, so as not to lose the data. Preliminary, untranslated versions of the interview transcripts can be found in Appendix C.

Participants were provided with an interview guide listing the interview questions and definitions of terms that will be discussed during the interview. It should be noted here that the terminology used in the interview guide is entirely based on simplified adaptations of definitions based on concepts that can be found in the Literature Review for the purpose of the interview, so as to avoid needlessly complicating the content participants are exposed to. Many terms, such as "Global English," "Code-switching," and "identity" have multiple and sometimes even divergent definitions in the literature on language and identity. I have outlined the difference in definitions between these above and will further explore how this applies to the analysis of the data

collected in the Findings and Discussion chapter. As is the case with much qualitative research in the area of language learning and identity, the research questions developed for this study are multi-layered and require a primer in the assumptions of the relevant literature to date to be more concrete in the minds of the reader. Because of this, and because of the somewhat personal nature of the discussion of language learning and identity for participants, interview questions were created to be a framework for an exploratory conversation about the research questions. As I predicted at the beginning of my research, many participants had indeed not previously reflected about their changing L1 and L2 identities. To address this probability, I designed concrete, "answerable" questions to help participants remember specific language learning experiences and reflections without too much difficulty.

The phenomenological perspective came into play when I incorporated follow-up questions into the interview, and when I actively shared in the conversation when useful or relevant by providing observations of my own L2 identity shifts and language learning experiences. By framing the interview as a conversation, I sought to help participants to partake in a safe environment in which their struggles and reflections were validated and, in some cases, shared. The scope of the interview questions (i.e., how long or how deeply each question was discussed) varied among individual participants. To ensure rich qualitative data, I encouraged participants to discuss their experiences with me for at least one hour. Most interviews lasted around 2 hours, with the longest lasting 2 hours and 30 minutes. To prepare for the data collection, I went through the entire process—inventory questionnaire, interview, and post-interview questions—about myself (with obvious adaptations that are applicable to my own experiences living abroad and returning) to help refine the timing, the scripted questions and transition between data elicitation steps.

Interview questions. The interview questions, which can be found in Appendix C, were developed as thematic groupings so as to support the researcher in the semi-structured interview format. It is important that multiple versions of similar questions that involve different wordings remained accessible to the researcher in order to facilitate explanation and clarification during the bilingual interviews. The questions are organized according to four categories: (1) The impact of power on agency, opportunity, and access in EFL, (2) Global English language and culture vs. locally contextualized English in Brazil, (3) L2 Identity as it relates to interaction, communication, and perception of or with others, and (4) L2 identity and reflections or perceptions of the self.

These four categories have been designed to move the interviewee from talking about language identity phenomena that they have observed in others' experiences to their own. Themes (1) and (2) focus on how participants view English in terms of global and localized sociolinguistic contexts, whereas (3) and (4) ask them to examine English in terms of communication and relationships, and how this impacts identity. It is important to note here that all four categories involve questions that in some way answer the research questions for this study by touching upon formal and informal language learning environments in global and localized contexts, and challenging the interviewee to describe strategies of how they form and negotiate their imagined identities in imagined communities. While the interview questions have been crafted to help the participant to recount anecdotal and emotional reflections, some particular questions or themes yielded richer and more impactful findings depending on the experiences of the specific participant. Responses to the interview questions were then coded according to Grounded Theory data analysis techniques as described below.

Brief participant demographic/language learning experience inventory. Whereas the qualitative semi-structured interviews were the principal mode of data collection, a supplemental demographic information and language learning experience inventory questionnaire (Portuguese and English versions provided) was collected to support the interviews. This questionnaire was conducted just before the semi-structured interview and can be viewed in Appendix B. As a part of this, participants were asked to complete a brief inventory of their backgrounds and English language learning experience. The first set of questions covered the participant's history of learning English as a Foreign Language (in what kind of institution they studied and for how long), in what English-speaking country did they spend their minimum 6-month stint (how long they stayed and for what purpose), and the nature of their current or recent English language use (what do they use English for and how would they rate their current language level).

The inventory serves two primary functions. First, it will help the researcher to gain a more complete picture of the participant's prior and current experience so as to allow for more time during the interview to discuss more complex issues related to the research questions. Second, because of this, the researcher will use the completed questionnaire as a reference during the semi-structured interview itself, during which, she may ask the participant to expand upon or clarify his or her responses. The use of the pre-interview inventory questionnaire was adapted from various related studies such as Sung (2014) and others. Appendix A holds three tables which relate the results of the collected questionnaires. Table 1 shows the demographic information of the participants, Table 2 shows the language learning inventory, and Table 3 depicts their experience abroad.

Post-interview questions. Immediately following the semi-structured interviews, I presented the participants with a brief set of concluding and debriefing questions pertaining to

their experience of discussing their L2 identity as a part of the study (see Appendix C). Over the course of a few minutes, I asked the participant to verbally respond to these questions while still being audio-recorded. This final step is an important aspect of the qualitative approach that I chose because it acknowledges the process of critical reflection necessarily involved in personal interviews about linguistic identity. It not only allowed participants to reflect on their participation and what it means for them, but also to reaffirm or provide more information on their experience after the interview and discussion of the questions at hand had taken place.

Procedure

After applying for and receiving IRB approval for the method of study, I contacted the participants via email, social media announcements, instant messaging and face-to-face encounters to provide them with more information on the materials and procedure, and to determine if they would be interested in partaking. After the initial call for participants, I was able to find and meet with the required number of ten qualified candidates to join me in the data collection over the 18-day period I was in Brazil in March of 2018. As per IRB requirements, an informed consent protocol was implemented, and each participant received a both a Portuguese and English copy of the interviewee consent materials: including a description of the study in the form of an invitation letter, as well as a consent form. As the participants reviewed the informational and consent materials, I answered their questions and doubts as they arose. It was also at this time that I verbally informed the interviewees that their recorded speech would be destroyed within the IRB deadline and that their names would be replaced with pseudonyms for the study. The English version of the consent form was signed and collected from each and every participant in the study before any data was collected (IRB Certificate located in Appendix C).

Interviews were conducted in several locales that were chosen by the participant depending on his or her convenience or preference. For the interviews conducted in São Paulo State, a local coffee shop and homes of the participants were used. In Rio de Janeiro, I went to the homes of participants and several opted to come to the home of a family friend where I was staying during my visit. All interviews were conducted and audio-recorded over the course of my 18-day visit to Brazil. Though the order of data collection between participants is not consequential in this study, I was careful not to schedule more than two interviews per day so as to have enough time to prepare and fully engage with each participant as the interviewer. The complete the process of participant experience, including the demographic questionnaire and learning inventory, interview, and post-interview occurred within the same meeting per participant so as to not collect unreliable data.

Participants were encouraged to use their completed inventory and the interview guide (question and glossary of terms) during the interview. For each step of the data collection I read aloud, explain, clarified and when necessary translated during the meeting with the participant. After finishing the data collection process, I contacted two participants to go over their responses to better understand their choice of language or expand on unclear assertions so as to analyze the data accurately and appropriately. After each interview, the audio recording files were saved on my personal computer for convenient transcription later.

Over the course of 2 weeks in March of 2018, I conducted the 10 interviews with my participants in Jundiaí, São Paulo State, and the two eponymous state capital cities, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. To make the research meetings as convenient as possible for my participants, while still maintaining a conducive space for the interviews to take place, we met in quiet cafes of their choosing, their homes, or my place of lodging, depending on their preference. As I had

hoped, most of the participants were excited to share their experiences and perspectives, particularly because they had little to no immediate reason or exigency to do so with their friends, family, and coworkers in Brazil. I found that giving participants the option to narrate and discuss in the language of their choice also facilitated the deep self-reflection and ability to answer the questions more freely and authentically. It was very important for the nature of the research to be able to meet my participants where they were at, so in anticipation of the interviews, I prepared some of my own lived examples in L2 identity negotiation during and post-sojourn and thought about some metalinguistic devices in Portuguese to supplement our discussion and to help breakdown the English terminologies included in the data collection. I believe this intercultural and inter-lingual position as a bilingual English-Portuguese speaker that I chose to occupy as a researcher contributed to the quality and extent to which my participants were able to critically think into their experiences.

By the end of my data collection, as I started to transcribe the interviews to prepare for the coding process, certain themes that confirm the existing and relevant research began to emerge, as well as some new concepts that I had not anticipated. The information shared by participants was rich and extensive, and I needed to develop specific coding and analysis frameworks and assumptions for organizing these surfacing discoveries.

Data Analysis Methods and Techniques

Grounded theory and interpretive close readings involving content and discourse analysis are the principal methods for data analysis in the present study. The inductive processes involved in creating a theoretical framework by allowing the data to speak for itself are central to answering the original research questions and revealing how participants negotiated their

linguistic identities through their own language (resulting from our shared time together in the interviews).

Semi-structured interviews and post-interview questions. To analyze the interviews, I used thematic and discourse data analysis according to Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which then informed my final findings. The data from both the semi-structured interview and the post-interview questions was analyzed according to emergent patterns and themes as well as in relation to how participants spoke about their experiences and views by exploring their responses to the interpretations expressed in the post-interview follow-up questions (Creswell, 2003). This allowed me to better understand the how the experiences, observations and reflections of the participants were related, both as individual "language learning experiences," and as a collective sample that is situated in a post-sojourn context.

The relationship between second language acquisition and identity is not one that is easily "measured." The emphasis on the importance of contextualization Post-structuralist researchers mentioned thus far have looked to methods that allow theory to emerge from data rather than predetermined analytical constructs, categories or variables from pre-existing theories. Grounded theory, therefore, was designed to open up a space for the development of new, contextualized theories. Another feature of Grounded Theory is the simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis, in which codes and data are examined using a constant comparative method, in which comparisons are made during each stage of analysis, making theory development an eventual outcome (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

I began my analysis simultaneously as I generated data with my participants, and compared my several sources of data with each other constantly in order to tease out preliminary possible themes or observances. At this stage, I constantly reflected on my place as researcher,

acquaintance, and in some cases friend to the participants, both in my choice of response and sharing during the interviews and in my listening, observing, and initial coding. I also maintained theoretical concepts related to language learners' identities, such as investment and imagined communities at the front of my mind during my inquiry case by case (Norton, 2000, 2001, 2010; Norton Peirce, 1995).

As mentioned above, after the data collection period finished with the final interview, I created content-oriented transcriptions to use in tandem with the notes I had taken during conversations with the participants. In the transcriptions I attempted to annotate everything that was said by everyone present; however, the prosodic characteristics of the conversation are not recorded in detail as they would be in other methods (like conversation analysis or some discourse analyses) given that the primary focus was on the close reading and interpretation of the account content. Non-verbals such as laughter and significant pauses were noted. Both of these accounts play an integral role in my analysis, because the field notes predetermined key phrases and comparable themes that appeared to be emerging. Inevitably, one important feature of Grounded Theory is to allow and monitor how earlier interviews influence the questioning process and direction of interviews in order to narrow the categories ultimately used (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Although there was little significant divergence in facilitation of interviews over time out of an effort to maintain consistency in thorough responses in all the interview question categories, it was clear to me that knowledge of responses from earlier interviews played a role on particular questions. After the first reading of the transcripts with initial notes, the data was re-read four additional times in order to begin categorizing codes that emerged in interviewee utterances using sentence and whole paragraph groupings. Initial codes in the margins were then

categorized under tentative thematic categories on note cards and color-coded according to which research question they may have been addressing (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

This process of assigning labels, developing categories, and categorizing data is called open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In the axial coding stage, each interview was carefully compared and contrasted for similarities and differences, and major categories and sub-categories were related "according to their properties and dimensions;" in other words, to determine how categories relate to each other (Strauss & Corbin 1998). These considerations were incorporated into the open codes by listing participant names on the code categories that were applicable to their responses. Most of the codes were first identified through either contextualization or explicit naming of strategies, processes, perceptions, feelings and reflections that participants point out themselves over the course of the interview. Descriptive, in vivo, values and holistic coding techniques were also integrated into the coding process (Saldana, 2009). In the presentation of the final results of the analysis, a pseudonym was assigned to each participant for participant privacy.

These refined axial codes were further narrowed to become "core/central categories" according to their uniqueness or answerability to the research questions (what strategies do participants use to construct L2 identity and what do they think about their use?). This is a part of the selective coding stage, or the process of "integrating and refining theory" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During this stage, the relationships between categories were confirmed and refined, resulting in the possibility for interpretation by case and drawing conclusions from the data across all cases (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In the following chapters, I will explore these connections of the emergent themes from the data with comparable studies mentioned in the literature review, and examine these through more theoretical lenses in the area of critical

language identity as that of Norton, Pavlenko, Pennycook, Rajagopalan, and others. The final element of the analysis involved a discussion of the impact of the method itself—the techniques used, the unique circumstances around each interview, and how these may affect the constitution and interpretation of data.

Questionnaire. Given the qualitative design of my study, the most useful method for getting at data that could answer my research questions was by cross-referencing interview narratives with the questionnaire. I organized participant responses to the questionnaire according to information category type and not used as a central object of analysis, but rather as supplemental data to establish a more complete profile for each interviewee and to facilitate the interview process. The results of these were cross-referenced with interview responses both during the interview and after during the data analysis process. This information (in the form of three tables as described above) can be found in Appendix A.

Chapter IV: Results and Discussion

Introduction to Results and Discussion

This thesis seeks to add to our understanding of language learning and identity by identifying strategies and conceptualizations that study participants located in their experience based on their shared sociolinguistic contexts for English language use both abroad and at home. The comparable studies discussed at the end of the literature review organize their results by presenting individual participant narratives and identifying a finding from each narrative. The purposes and constraints of this thesis required me to report my findings according to themes among participant narratives. There are several concerns that contributed to this mode of analysis and presentation of the results. Though discrete profiles of individual language learners are effective for studies with less than six narratives, the more participants partake in interviews, the more difficult it becomes to draw conclusions beyond "different language learners approach their SLA in different ways" and "different types of experiences in the target language have differing effects on individuals, and for differing reasons."

The frame of the research design around strategies for identity (re)negotiation or (re)construction acknowledges the importance of ongoing processes of language learning and identity change. We tend to understand strategies, particularly in terms of learning, as conscious, premeditated choices that are typically in alignment with some kind of goal or outcome. Because we have established language and identity are socioculturally constituitive rather than simply communicative and pragmatic, we should accordingly complicate our understanding of "strategy." In the context of the research design, I take "strategy" to describe *what* Brazilian ELL sojourners do to (re)negotiate or (re)construct their identities across contexts. In their narratives, the participants described what they did for their linguistic identities in certain interactions with

varying degrees of consciousness. For example, some participants consciously chose to isolate themselves from other Brazilians abroad to avoid speaking in Portuguese and to focus on their English whereas others talked about brushing off negative attention from fellow Brazilians when they code-switched in their reentries.

By focusing on *what* participants did and then *how* they felt about these choices in such situations, the research reveals rich findings in terms of critical self reflection about how much meaning is given to the language learning process, how much meaning given to language performance. A focus on strategies also helps to contextualize the meaning of going abroad, experiencing a new culture, and navigating the meaning of this experience within their SLA journey having returned home. The greatest departure of the present study is that rather than analyze the data of a whole learner narrative is that is a single a retelling of a moment in memory, the focus is to examine themes across narratives. This concentration shifts from an inquiry of why and how a given individual learns a second language—or in Norton's constructs, what investment they have in learning it—to how an individual thinks and learns about how to learn a language. It examines how they think about language learning and how the language they are learning carries cultural meaning across borders. Their narratives about these questions reveal identity (re)negotiation and (re)constructions as dynamic, ongoing metacognitive processes.

After coding the interview data, I realized the results would be best organized the in four major parts. I will present each of the following in this chapter: (1) "observations of self and observation of others in L2 learning in Brazil and abroad," coming from answers to the questionnaire and "language learning experience" informational-sharing questions of the interview, (2) "Strategies and performances in negotiating L2 identities" identified in their

personal language learning narratives and reflections, (3) "Metacognitive processes" of identity change before, during, and after the sojourn, and (4) "New critical understandings" about language and identity in the participants' reentry. Parts two and three correspond directly to my principal research questions, while one and four contextualize and point to interpretive findings (respectively). I will describe the narrative contexts from which the quotations I have chosen emerged, then work to interpret these codes according to the relevant literature.

Part 1: Observations of Self and of L2 Learning in Brazil and Abroad

Formal L2 learning in Brazil. In the following subsection, I will outline the critical observations described by the participants in terms of their experiences or knowledge of others' experiences of what EFL learning in the varying formal educational contexts has been like or perhaps should become in the future.

Structural issues: Public vs. private. The participants identified English language learning as an obligatory objective of primary and/or secondary education in Brazil. Regardless of educational background, all ten participants had encountered an English language class in their normal school at some point. Daniel states at the outset of his interview:

> Eu comecei aprender inglês aqui no Brasil durante o high school…porque vc precisa; é obrigatória você aprender uma lingua, e daí aqui eles ensinam. [I started learning English here in Brazil during high school…because you need it; it's obligatory for you to learn a language, so here they teach English].

And despite the fact that it is an obligatory language policy within public education, this access to English does not correspond to a proficient or bilingual population. The separate language policies responding to the national anxiety about the replacement of Portuguese as the official language of Brazil (with English) contradict the requirement of EFL in schools. The

socioeconomic and cultural fallout about this contradiction then creates the effect that in public school (and in many cases, private school) English is a superficial venture in low-level exposure at best. Fernanda, Isabela, Carlos, Camila, Aline, Elena, Livia, and Lucas all speak of this type of EFL learning, noting that education during school hours never proved to be enough for them to achieve fluency. This was true even for those participants whose own children attended semi-bilingual private schools (Aline, Livia, and Camila). This lack of the "right" exposure in English, despite it being the primary FL, became a point of great disappoint and frustration in terms of language acquisition and the language learning expectations to many of the participants. Isabela notes this in the first statement she made in the interview:

> "Eu notei…que eu perdi muito tempo pra aprender o inglês, mas eu percebi que não foi me ensinado da maneira correta…na escola eles dão um conhecimento básico, preparando pra vestibular; o verbo "to be," só. Ensinado de uma maneira assim, tão arcaica e com pouco investimento…que o aluno não se interessa…eu não aprendi nada em três anos, então foram três anos de "to be." [I noticed…that I wasted a lot of time learning English, but I also think that it was never taught in the correct way…at school they only teach the basics, preparing you for the standardized exam; just the verb "to be." When it's taught this way, so archaically and with so little investment, the student loses interest…I didn't learn anything in three years, so it was just three years of "to be."].

Other participants noted a more positive association and exposure with the English language as a child because of their parents' involvement. Due to her father's work, Camila lived in California for several years from the age of 6, and found herself in an immersive bilingual environment. Carlos's parents allowed him to watch Disney movies only in English, while Eduardo and Daniel

note the importance of discovering American popular culture products as adolescents, and beginning to engage in passive language learning independently.

All 10 participants agreed overwhelmingly that extracurricular English courses in private institutes were more effective than in curricular English classes. The participants who had attended these types of English classes also noted that their learning varied in quality depending on the teachers and the institutions, as well as their own motivation at the time of taking them. Isabela and Elena were particularly critical of their private courses, describing them as simply "so easy they were a joke" (Elena), and on a more nefarious note, "ensina[ndo] de maneira mais lenta possível para ganhar dinheiro," [they will teach you as slowly as possible to make money] (Isabela), eventually delaying progress in this "optimum" FL formal learning context. Camila aptly concludes after her description of English in schools that becomes a question of access:

> Again, this depends on who you are talking about economically, you know? Everybody is supposed to be exposed to English; all public schools are supposed to teach English, but a lot of them hardly teach Portuguese, so, generally speaking, I think that Brazilians don't learn English because they go to public schools, and the English level there is so low that they wouldn't learn English.

As a result of the recounting of their experiences between public and private institutions for English, many of the participants showed a kind of disappointment in the time, money, and effort that was lost in their attempts to acquire the language in a monolingual Portuguese context with the systemic constraints of Brazilian education, whereas these issues were less present in formal language learning contexts abroad.

Perceived pedagogical issues. While participants had mixed experiences in their varied formal learning environments in Brazil, pointing to private language courses as more effective

overall, they criticized certain aspects of the language learning pedagogy within both the private and public programs. As mentioned above in the literature review as well as Isabela's quote in the previous subsection, English language learning pedagogy is still primarily anchored in "teaching just the basics" (Elena) or grammar translation.

One image within the collective memory of many of the participants was learning about the verb "to be" as a rote conjugation in simple sentences mimicking and not learning, repeated until the phrase lost all meaning. Eduardo describes this in his high school experience:

> "Eu não sei se é…muito cliché o que eles ensinam, ou é apenas vocabulário e você não sabe montar uma frase…tipo, eu não entendi what is the verb 'to be'…what even is 'to be'?" [I don't know if it is…very cliché, the way they teach, or if it is just a matter of vocabulary that you don't know how to form into a phrase…like, I didn't understand what is the verb 'to be'…what even is 'to be'?].

For Fernanda, the phrase was such a present feature of English class that her classmates twisted the meaning as a verb into its own character by giving it a name: "O verbo 'Toby.' [The verb 'Toby']." In previous conversations with other Brazilian ELLs, they have commented on how the phrase "the book is on the table" takes on a similar linguistic subversion in the chaos of public school English class, eventually resulting in a Baile Funk viral meme in the early 2000s as a song by the same title by DJ MP4 (2000). The focus on decontextualized grammar patterns and vocabulary lists ultimately inhibited investment for Isabela, Eduardo, Elena, and Daniel in their attempts to study English in Brazil. Whereas some ELLs attempt to create positive meaning around SLA, the sheer meaninglessness of EFL class content experienced by many Brazilians has led them to creatively parody and satirize the language.

Eduardo also notes that when he returned from his first sojourn experience in California, he took a conversation class at Cultura Inglesa, a language school franchise sponsored in part by the British government, and was placed in a level he believed was too low for his abilities. His classmates were early beginners, and he was frustrated because he was not as reticent to participate as they were. “I always knew how to speak and I had my own accent because I was going to California, so I talked like that. The teacher was always saying ‘You need to talk like they do in London.’” Because of his more unfamiliar accent and some possible confusion of verb tenses in the placement interview, he was prevented from participating in a formal learning context in which Krashen’s widely accepted “input hypothesis of SLA” could be achieved (1985). Along similar lines, Daniel, Isabela, Lucas, and Aline noted that the lack of authentic, beyond-textbook communication exercises as a part of their private and public English learning experiences resulted in difficulties in listening comprehension and speaking.

Perceptions and attitudes toward English and US/UK/Canadian culture.

*O*verwhelmingly, participants acknowledged English as the most common and the most valued L2 or FL in Brazil, despite the fact that several came from multilingual families and were themselves fluent in languages other than English and Portuguese. In the interviews they cited different reasons for its current status. Isabela claims the reason for this was that “inglês é universal; América do norte é universal,” [English is universal; North America is universal], and for Carlos, “Pra nós o inglês já é normal…a nossa cultura brasileira foi muito americanizada…” [For us, English is already the norm…our Brazilian culture was very Americanized...]. Other participants noted the access to resources (informational and networking) in Brazil and outside as the main reasons for its value (Fernanda, Camila, Livia, Lucas, Elena, and Aline). Daniel claimed that “you can get a nice or better job…you can grow in your enterprise or position

because you have developed yourself, even if you don't use it [English], which is common." This reveals the inherent value that is ascribed to knowing another language at all, but especially if it is one of prestige.

When comparing the perceptions about English as compared to Spanish (which surrounds Brazil and exists in border communities), the participants agreed that Spanish does not carry the same perceived level of importance or prioritization within the education system, the political-economic sphere, and popular culture at large. Because of the mostly mutual intelligibility of Spanish and Portuguese, a kind of "portunhol" is used by most Brazilians in their encounters with Spanish speakers in Brazil. As Elena, who is married to a Uruguayan, notes:

> O espanhol não é muito estudado porque o brasileiro tem uma falsa ideia de que ele se vira em espanhol…o inglês é diferente; se você não vai numa aula, você não vai entender" [Spanish is not often studied because Brazilians have a false idea that they can communicate successfully in Spanish…English is different; if you don't attend classes, you simply won't understand].

Carlos also mentions that if "you learn another language, it's usually in cases where someone else in the family is a speaker of that language" or if that person has plans to pursue an immigration opportunity through that family member to the country of origin (typically Italy, Germany, France, Spain, or Japan). This was the case for Camila, Elena, Aline, and Lucas, who all have ties to the Hebrew language and/or Israel. Interestingly, when discussing encounters with Spanish or French speakers in the U.S. and Canada, Eduardo, Isabela, and Daniel all noted that they preferred to use English rather than "Portunhol" as their linguistic mode, whereas in Brazil they would have done the opposite. This linguistic choice reveals expressions of identity abroad because of the perceived higher value of English in the U.S. and Canada, but also because

it reflects the disconnect between Latinx and Brazilian immigrant identities in North America. As Bugel & Santos' (2010) matched-guise study demonstrated, perceptions about different varieties and contexts of use of Spanish are changing amongst Brazilians depending on age and regional origin.

Nearly all participants agreed that for Brazilians, English is perceived as and is connected with ideas about what is global and universal (Camila, Aline, Livia, Isabela, Daniel, Eduardo, & Fernanda). Because of this collective understanding, many also reflected that their parents played a key role in their learning of English as well as going abroad because they wished their children would have opportunities to connect with the world. Livia and Aline, the two eldest participants, talked at length about how their parents talked about investing in their children's futures by ensuring they spoke English from a young age. This type of language investment made by parents involved paying for private lessons as well as saving money to send them on exchanges abroad as well as encouragement and motivation at home. Livia discussed this cross-social class effort at length in her interview by comparing her own experience, the experiences she was attempting to make possible for her daughter, and in observing how her live-in maid was beginning to do for her grandchildren. Her description acknowledges the importance of private English education and the cultural capital that comes with learning English, regardless of the contexts of use or potential use.

> Quando estudava inglês como adolescente, quarenta anos atrás, era muito diferente do que hoje. Em aquela época, a minha mãe me colocava em aulas com gente mais velha que eu, daí eu percebo que os pais já achavam importante os filhos estudarem o inglês. Por que? Primerio pela questão do inglês ser uma lingua globalizada…desde aquela época já era, e segundo, porque meus pais não nasceram no Brasil—vieram da Polônia

> pós-guerra. Apesar deles estarem muito bem adaptados no Brasil, acho que sempre tinham aquela sensção de que da mesma forma que eles mudaram de país, um dia os filhos poderiam precisar mudar. Não era questão de opção, eu acho. Tenho essa impressão que foi importante pra eu tiver uma escolha de morar fora do país…que 'só com o português, você não vai longe…Tenho uma empregada em casa, e ela é de uma classe social baixa, mas valoriza o estudo para que os filhos e depois os netos pudessem ter uma oportunidade melhor…nessa classe social, saber o inglês é o diferencial. [When I studied English as a teenager, forty years ago, it was very different than it is today. At that time, my mother enrolled me in classes with people older than me, so I think that parents already that it was important for their kids to study English. Why? First, because English is a globalized language…at that time, even, it already was. Second, because my parents weren't born in Brazil—they came from Poland after the war. Even though they were well adapted to Brazil, I think they always had this idea that in the same way that they immigrated to a new country, someday their children would also need to move. It wasn't a question of whether it was just and option, I think. I have the impression that it was important for me to have the choice to live abroad…that 'just with Portuguese, one doesn't go far'…I have a maid at home, and she is from a low social class, but she values studying English as a chance for her children and grandchildren to have better opportunities…in that social class, knowing English distinguishes them.].

Camila, Carlos, Eduardo, Elena Aline, and Lucas also mention the importance of the acts of parents to encouraging their children's study of English financially, but also in exposing them to cultural products in English.

Given the factors leading to contradictory beliefs about English in Brazil discussed in the literature review, it is no surprise that the participants reflected this phenomenon in their perceptions shared in the interviews. While Carlos, Camila, Eduardo, and Daniel pointed out that Brazilians don't see the actual usefulness or applicability of using the English they study in Brazil, they also maintained that English simultaneously signals prestige, justice, wealth, modernity, innovation, and self-determination in its contexts of use in Brazil. Isabela and Elena noted that Brazilians believe life abroad is more just, that promises and laws are taken seriously, and because of this, and hardship is a reality for fewer people than in Brazil. Though it predates Brazil's cataclysmic ongoing corruption scandal and financial crisis of the 2010s, El-Dash and Busnardo's (2001) matched-guise study on adolescent attitudes toward English and Portuguese found that Brazilian youth have a variety of preferences and solidarity orientations between the two languages. Participants who identified with global youth culture (which exists primarily in English) and with the 'modernizing' effect of English positions them in direct opposition with older generations who exert political control of national hegemonic domains of society, economy and culture (which also favors Portuguese) (El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001).

The focus of this thesis on participants who have returned to their home contexts after a sojourn in an English-speaking country seeks to pinpoint how attitudes and beliefs about English as a global language contribute to experiences in language policy and sociolinguistic changes in Kachru's expanding outer circle. The participants concorded that Brazilians have complex and ambivalent relationships with using English, and have paradoxical views of the cultural information encoded within the language itself as it relates to their individual and collective imagined identities/communities. These views understand English as universal, obligatory, and ubiquitous while simultaneously meaningless and not used for communicative purposes. This

collective assumed language ideology has consequences for how the participants described and conceived of their learning experiences and their linguistic identities.

Observations of L2 learning abroad.

Formal and informal learning contexts. The following subsection will discuss the discoveries and observations made by participants about their L2 learning experience and L2 performance during and after their sojourns in the U.S., Canada and the U.K. In terms of general reflections on formal English learning environments, participants described two types of experiences: (1) ELL classes with learners from other countries (at various levels), as in the case of Carlos, Isabela, Fernanda, Livia, and Daniel, or (2) immersive content-based classes in a higher education context, as in the case of Fernanda, Daniel, Elena, Camila, Aline, and Lucas. Whether it was because of communicative need in an immersive context (Daniel, Lucas, Elena, Carlos), or better quality in pedagogical practices (Isabela, Daniel, Fernanda), participants found L2 classes more effective abroad than in Brazil. Daniel and Fernanda commented on the impact of their multicultural peers in the ELL classroom in the U.S. on their confidence, noting that seeing they were not the only ones with language struggles made it easier to practice and make mistakes. Elena and Camila discussed how their educational experiences as undergraduate and graduate students in the U.S. changed how they thought about their areas of study, what education could and should be, and how they should go about conducting research for their work (engineering and translation of religious texts, respectively).

Overwhelmingly, however, the participants believed the experience of their English language learning was far more meaningful outside the classroom (Isabela, Fernanda, Daniel, Camila, Elena, Carlos). According to Livia, Carlos, Camila, Daniel, they felt that positive feedback from native speakers was an important type of input to receive in their immersive

experiences, and all have maintained relationships with native speakers even years after they returned to Brazil. Most participants mentioned at some point in the interview that the most difficult contexts of English use were using English as a lingua franca with another nonnative speaker either in other travels abroad or in the location of their sojourn. Negotiating meaning in the moment was usually perceived as frustrating, but an accepted reality of being an L2 speaker. Fernanda, and to a lesser extent, Isabela, were the only participants who mentioned close relationships with other nonnative speakers that had some kind of effect on their overall linguistic identity development abroad. Eduardo, Camila, and Aline echoed this in their beliefs that English unites people of different L1s and brings disparate groups of people together.

All 10 participants mentioned at multiple points that English can give the ELL a global identity, which in this case, is likely inextricably tied to the sojourn experience and not just the global associations around the English language. Participants used different language to communicate this: Eduardo talks about feeling "a part of a [global] whole," Isabela says this is "knowledge about what is happening outside Brazil." For Aline it was the simple act of "communicating beyond a language barrier," while for Elena, Lucas, and Livia it was creating the exigency for "living in a different culture during times of globalization." Daniel, Fernanda, and Camila believe this was "connecting to an international LGBTQ+" and "church community" and "Reform Judaism diasporic community" (respectively); for Carlos, his global identity was the "expanding of his professional network." In spite of these views, the participants find themselves at different points on the spectrum of understanding and defining their current identities (imagined or not) according to a globally-centered one in English. How this relates to the original research questions and the poststructuralist theoretical framework will be explored in the following sections.

Brazilians abroad: Reflections on race, gender, and sexuality labels as identity. Of my 10 participants, only two talked about their racial identities, and as it happens, they were also the only two who described themselves as "non-white." Race is a topic that I did not intend to focus on or directly address because I was aware of the issues above, and how they may have had an effect on how my participants decided to think about and depict their understandings of their identities. Since I wanted to see if they would put race as an intersectional aspect of their identities along with language, I allowed participants to bring it up themselves in the interviews, rather than ask explicitly.

Both Fernanda and Daniel believed themselves exoticized, eroticized, and racialized at different times and in different contexts during their U.S. sojourns. Daniel encountered this in terms of what his status came to mean within different gay communities:

> Eu podia me conectar com eles pelo fato de ser gay, mas achei meio estranho porque eu não sou branco, sou brasileiro, então isso já me exluiu de uma categoría por mais que eu seja parte da comunidade, eu não sou tão. Apesar do fato que tem um monte de Mexicans in LA, era estranho porque não sou mexicano tambêm; eu só apareço árabe. Então o que me expulsava da comunidade um pouco era essa fato de não ser branco; o fato de ser homem e gay me colocava, mas o fato de eu não ser branco me expulsou dela, mas o fato de ser brasileiro-árabe me trazia de volta, a causa da erotização, mesmo sendo uma coisa ruim. E a mesma coisa acontece com as mulheres, porque quando ela é erotizada, ela faz parte, e quando ela não é, "ah só mais uma feminista"…é uma apropriação; a única coisa que tem que fazer it's just accept it and have fun. [I could connect with them for being gay, but I thought it kind of strange because I know I'm not white; I'm Brazilian, so this already excluded me from a category; as much as I am a part of the community, I am not

> at the same time. Even though there a ton of Mexicans in LA, I was strange because I also wasn't Mexican; I look Arabic. So I was rejected from the community because I wasn't white; the fact I was a gay man put me in, but the fact I wasn't white pushed me out, but the fact I was Arab-Brazilian brought me back in, because eroticization, even if a bad thing. The same thing happens with women, because when she [a woman] is eroticized, she can participate, and when she isn't people say, "ah she's just another feminist"…it's an appropriation. The only thing you can do is just accept it have fun].

Fernanda experienced this uncomfortably as unwelcome flirtation and the association of open sexuality performance and being Brazilian.

> What I did experience was related to me being a Brazilian female…again, I was exotic 'well you're Brazilian, wow, hmmm' that 'hmmm' assumes that I was sexy…I thought to myself 'hmmm I'm so sexy eating this sandwich' [makes chewing noise], 'so sexy!' [sarcastically]… and I would just knock them out…what the heck dude! Eu não sou pro seu bico. [I am not for you].

Both participants expressed frustration about being pressed to claim a racial/ethnic category by Americans and when they were neither interested in defining themselves in this way nor fit into any available racial/ethnic group in the U.S. other than as a "Brazilian."

> Uma das primeiras perguntas que ele fez era: "what is your background?" And I was like, "I don't know! In Brazil we don't care! I'm just Brazilian." Então a gente não tem essa classificação...me fez sentir dificuldade. [One of the first questions he asked was: "what is your background?"…we don't have this classification…it made me feel uncomfortable.] (Daniel).

> Being in another country, even though you decided to do it, you're living away from your family, your culture, you have to adapt to it and sometimes people will make fun of your accent because you don't have to speak like them, because you're not like them! Even they are not like themselves! How can you expect to become a native?! I'm yellow, I'm neither black nor white and people always say 'what are you? Hmm you're Dominican, I knew it!'…Well technically I am Latina, but I didn't realize it (Fernanda).

As migration sociologist Helen Marrow (2003) describes, new immigrants bring their own notions of race and ethnicity that are formed by different historical processes in their countries of origin with them to the U.S. Part of their acculturation involves "learn[ing] and react[ing] to predominant U.S. notions of race and ethnicity, quickly figuring out where the U.S. and its natives see them" (p. 428). However, new immigrants also work simultaneously to maintain their original identifications and notions of race and ethnicity, which eventually challenges U.S. notions and the way that Americans view and include them.

Brazilian experiences that are mediated by race in the U.S. are unique examples for two reasons. First, the overall population of Brazilian immigrants in the U.S. is miniscule in comparison to that of Mexican or other Spanish-speaking Latin American populations (Marrow, 2003). Second, Brazil's own deeply multicultural and multiracial history of immigration and miscegenation has resulted in a very different social hierarchy of race; it does not conform to the U.S.'s one-drop-of-blood rule and strict, polarized, white–black binary but instead falls on a race continuum that favors whiteness, but through which any person with a European relative could be potentially white (Marrow, 2003). Because of this, Brazilians both place themselves and are placed by others in a variety of racial and ethnic categories during their time in the U.S. (and

potentially other English-speaking, white majority countries), few of which correspond neatly to the Brazilian racial spectrum and cultural expectations that accompany it.

A single interview cannot possibly capture all the related experiences to issues of race, gender, and sexuality faced by the participants of this study, nor can it completely create enough language around how these experiences have informed their identities over time. In the coming sections, I will return to issues of race and ethnicity in other subsections to come as they are more specifically related to the original research questions—that is, how they can begin to comprise strategies and ways of understanding identities within a language learning-focused sojourn, and the reflections on that sojourn upon returning home.

Perceptions and conclusions about language learning in general.

Factors promoting language learning. In attempts to position the data discussed thus far in a way that frames the findings that specifically correspond to the two research questions, I will briefly summarize how participants reported what they believed to be factors promoting and factors preventing language learning from both their individual experiences abroad and at home, as well as for what they perceived as such for other Brazilians.

As previously mentioned, during their interviews, Livia, Camila, Eduardo, Aline, Lucas, noted the influence of their parents as a motivating factor to learn English—whether by encouragement, exposure to the language at home through books, music, and movies, or by providing private classes. Several participants also talked about their enjoyment of language learning in general as another factor. Aline, Camila, Carlos, Daniel have all studied other languages other than English, both formally and informally. Camila had the most exposure to other languages because of her immersive experience in the U.S. as a child, speaking Portuguese and French at home, and later learning Hebrew and Spanish. Other participants viewed a natural

facility with language learning—not necessarily enjoying, but exceling at it—as a primary factor for success in SLA. While Lucas, Elena, and Aline did not talk about themselves as possessing this trait, Carlos shared that he believed that language learning came easily to him with little effort. In terms of more extrinsic positive factors for learning languages, and in this case, English, Eduardo, Isabela, Elena, and Camila talked about how the economic crisis and the desire or need to return abroad created an exigency for them to invest more in their language learning.

Factors impeding language learning. Other participants than those above did not see living outside of Brazil as a personal goal, and focused their narratives on what they perceived as the "importance of having lived abroad and returned an enriched individual" as opposed to negotiating their linguistic identities with higher stakes. This was not a surprising observation from Livia and Aline, as they are both mothers of grown children who live in a relatively comfortable socioeconomic position. Though from different socioeconomic backgrounds, Lucas and Fernanda currently both hold stable and valued jobs in their cities of origin, and prefer to stay in Brazil because of important social ties, as well as these employment opportunities. Without the pressing need or desire to return to an English-speaking country, these participants talked about the general lack of opportunities to engage in English in the same ways they did abroad. While Fernanda and Lucas both mentioned their occasional use of English at work, Aline, Livia, and Fernanda also explicitly stated that in order to compensate, they tried to incorporate English use in their daily lives in other ways.

Daniel, Livia, and Elena talked about the greatest barriers to English language learning as the "sacrifice" for SLA in terms of time and effort (as opposed to an "investment"). All three mentioned the universal misconception that language learning success depends on inherent

ability and is a linear process. Daniel noted that many of his friends complained about slow progress using language learning apps for only 5 minutes per day or attending one class for an hour per week, while Livia and Elena discussed the amount of time and effort they had to invest both in studying the language in classes before their sojourn, and then in mindfully engaging in English with native speakers. Having studied abroad at American universities in both English courses as well as their content areas, Lucas, Elena, and Fernanda named unexpected and misunderstood conventions of the L2 classroom abroad as an initial barrier to their English learning as well, though they later revealed that they eventually contributed to their learning to different degrees. Overwhelmingly, financial means and access to language learning opportunities at home and abroad were identified as the greatest obstacles for Brazilian ELLs. While Lucas, Livia, Elena, Aline, Camila, and Carlos talked about this as an issue facing Brazilians at large, Fernanda, Isabela, and Daniel talked about it as an issue that they faced at some point (though they were careful to point out that it was a greater problem for others).

Finally, the third type of factor impeding language-learning brought up in the interviews was a psychosocial one. Aline, Camila, and Eduardo talked about their own struggles in this area, highlighting fear of making mistakes, embarrassment, etc. Carlos, Livia, and Isabela mentioned their personal difficulties somewhat vaguely, and chose to talk about watching people close to them encounter such barriers to a greater extent. At the time of his interview, Carlos' girlfriend was taking an English course, and he recalled her abject fear of speaking in class, while Livia noted the difference in her two daughters' differing investments in learning English, positing that their personalities, social circles and goals may play a role. Isabela's mother had recently married an American at the time of her interview, so she talked about the difficulties her mother encountered adjusting to a fresh start in Florida with a new, English-only relationship.

Isabela believed that her mother had even less command of the language than herself, though her mother had been living abroad for longer and had a more pressing need to learn.

Isabela, Elena, Camila, Eduardo, and Daniel also returned to the idea of negative educational experiences in Brazil, particularly as it related to the prevailing attitude that though English is a prestige language, there is no apparent necessity to communicate in it. Camila and Elena talked about this as "speaking English halfway" (Eduardo), or "speaking English tudo errado" [all wrong] (Elena); "eles chegam e querem fazer tudo logo então falam de qualquer jeito" [they arrive [in the U.S. and they want to do everything fast, so they just speak however they want].

Perhaps the most interesting common narrative about impediments to language learning to emerge among the stories of several participants was the impact of high-context social interactions in Brazil post-sojourn in stopping them from using English. Livia, Aline, Elena, and Eduardo mentioned that whether the individuals in a group interaction had also lived abroad had an impact on whether they would either use English or talk about their sojourn experience at length. They noted complex collective behaviors in monitoring and reacting to English or other perceived outsider traits as negative and discouraging. In situations where friends, coworkers, or family were envious of the participant's sojourn opportunity, they would draw negative attention to the participant through teasing, name-calling, and sarcasm. At other times where English was being used amongst Brazilians in Brazil, ridicule and hyperawareness of perceived language error dominated the moment of English use.

Parts 2 through 4 will explore how these observations relate to the strategies used for identity construction and negotiation as well as in the meta-ontological processes about language and identity that the participants indirectly and directly described in their interviews.

Part 2: Strategies of Negotiating and Constructing Imagined Identities/Communities

The following sections will discuss the interpretive frames and results from the data analysis in terms of the two principle research questions: (1) What strategies do adult Brazilian ELLs use to form and negotiate imagined L2 identities and imagined L2 communities in formal and informal sites of language learning? And (2) How do ELLs from Brazil understand and view the negotiation of their imagined L2 identities in global and localized contexts? Having outlined the contextualizing self-reported observations about English language learning at home and abroad, informally and formally, the stage has been set for presenting and analyzing the resulting research that corresponds to these questions from the participants' reflective positions post-sojourn.

Strategies in formal language learning contexts. I will organize the following sections according to strategy and context by using epigraphical subheadings created to translate these themes into identity research-related language. The first-person format does not represent direct quotations from the participants, but rather is crafted in identity-friendly language to help center the themes. After presenting and interpreting the findings I will draw on relevant research where appropriate to further explain or situate these results.

My engagement in multicultural sharing in the ELL classroom impacted my identity. When language learners travel abroad to study their L2, they find themselves in classes with others who may have similar goals but very different backgrounds. This environment has the potential to promote intercultural sharing of experiences, communication styles, knowledge, as well as learning strategies—all of which can contribute to identity negotiation and construction. Active participation of learners in this type of context is often a strategic choice. Two of the

participants who engaged in this type of learning abroad, Daniel and Carlos, noted specific instances of how and why the multicultural ELL classroom was impactful to their self-concept.

As Daniel talked about his first days studying at a university in Kansas he discussed how the difference in learning environment effected a change:

> I could not speak, and even listening because there are a lot of accents…então foi bem estranho no começo…eu cai em diferentes níveis…Mas eu fiz seis meses de lingua, e era legal porque eles tinha esse programa para quem tava fazendo o exchange program, e daí eu podia conhecer gente de outros países. Assim eu fui desenvolvendo um pouco mais a minha lingua. […so it was quite strange at first…I was taking different classes at different levels…But I did six months of language (class), and it was cool because they had this program for those who were in the exchange program, and so there I was able to meet people from other countries. In this way I was developing my language more].

When asked about whether and how this exposure had an impact on his identity, and how learning English in multicultural classes changed how he connected to and communicated with people from other cultures, he responded:

> I realized I was a part of different communities; that in the U.S. I was Latin American, so I had to find some exchange students and other undocumented people…conseguia me relacionar porque entendia o que tava acontecendo com eles. […I was able to relate to them because I knew what they were going through].

By acting in a learning environment informed by the high stakes of acquiring the target language, he was able identify and expand his relationships with others in his place, and his understanding of what those positionings meant for himself and others in comparable (fellow exchange students

knowing they would eventually return home) and contrastive (classmates who were (un)documented immigrants planning to stay) circumstances.

For Carlos, the multicultural L2 class he was a member of abroad also expanded his personal network, but was more engaging in terms of sharing experiences and cultural knowledge. When asked the question of whether English changed how he related to people from other countries and to other Brazilians, he answered affirmatively:

> Mudou completamente. Você tá num país, com estudantes do mundo intiero…conheci russo, coreano, taliandês, japonês, mexicano, colombiano, venezolano, italiano, francês…todo mundo falando em inglês. Todo mundo se entendia. Tinha de outros países que falavam bem, e aí eu tive a oportunidade de perguntar para essas pessoas coisas dos países delas em inglês, e eles respondiam em inglês, então, essa lingua fez com que todos nós tocassem nas experiências culturais. [It completely changed (me). You are in a country, with students from all over the world…I met Russians, Koreans, Thai, Japanese, Mexicans, Colombians, Venezuelans, Italians, French…everyone was speaking English. Everyone understood one another. There were (students from) other countries that spoke well, so I had the opportunity to ask information about their countries in English, and they answered me in English, so, the language made us all share our cultural experiences together].

Where Brazilian ELLs may not be allowed to explore their imagined identities in the L2 classroom in their home context, having the opportunity to voice their beliefs, values, and issues from a cultural standpoint is a necessary part of language acquisition, regardless of whether the learner goes abroad or not. Whereas the L2 English classroom in Brazil may be able to create opportunities to critically question meanings from pre-existing dominant discourse that are often

present in textbooks, teacher/school discourse, and the media depending on the curricular objectives of the program, the multicultural English language classroom in educational contexts abroad may be better equipped to allow such work to take place. The target language is immersive and is simultaneously decontextualized from the various hegemonic meanings and language ideologies that control English in Brazil. Daniel and Carlos's opportunities to participate in this kind of learning process abroad, and then reflect on it as a result of our interview (at the very least) indicate a negotiative identity process based on nuanced, intercultural exchange.

Using English in areas of my professional or academic interest allowed me to become who I sought to be. For the purposes of this research, I have located experiences in education abroad outside the L2 classroom as well as in the workplace between formal and informal as identity constitutive contexts. While content classes in English do not require the participant to think about L2 identity negotiation in the same way as in the language learning classroom, as students, they are still assessed and measured against similar curricular and linguistic expectations as to identity performance in the L2. Work contexts differ even further, but still maintain this hierarchical structure that can also have a significant impact upon what Norton (2013) would describe as the participant's language learning investments. If participants did not maintain a certain competence in the L2, they would be at risk in their other ventures in their specialized area of study or profession. If they were successful in demonstrating their L2 competence, they would possibly have access to more and better opportunities, respect from coworkers, and a higher caliber of work produced, both during their tenures abroad and in Brazil.

In Carlos's interview, he focused much attention on how the ability to communicate in English was connected to his identity in the professional sphere, claiming that it primarily

"expandiu o meu conhecimento" [expanded my knowledge] in terms of content and relationships. Before his sojourn, Carlos had heard about experiences abroad from friends and colleagues in which they tried working in areas that did not reflect the education or training they had received in Brazil (such as in food service or beauty salons). Carlos resolved not to repeat this pattern and two months after arriving in Calgary, he began working at a video production company. "Eu decidi pra mim: 'eu não ia bater em porta de restaurante; não vou lavar prato, nada que eu não saiba…o que eu sei é produzir, editar, e graver.' Comecei bater na porta de produtoras até que eu consegui." [I decided for myself: "I wasn't going to knock on the doors of restaurants; I'm not going to wash dishes, nothing that I don't know how to do…what I know is produce, edit, and film." I started knocking on the doors of production companies until I made it].

Carlos's intent to accomplish this was based on the goal setting he had already begun in Brazil as he realized what his English skills could afford him in terms of his work. Murray (2011) posits that enabled learners have a vision of a possible self they could work toward. Picturing this "self-operating" in an imagined target language environment helps them identify the steps or what Dornyei calls "self-states" (2009), they needed to take in order to make their future self a reality. Murray suggests that learners had images of an ideal self—though not always clearly articulated—and in the self-directed learning course they set goals designed to help them move from their present toward their imagined future self-state (2011).

Camila also went into depth about the importance of English in her work back in Brazil. As a translator and international Jewish NGO coordinator, language, religious, political, and professional identities profoundly overlapped for her. When I asked about how she uses English in her work, she mentioned the correspondence and communication with other English-speaking

regions such as the U.S., Israel, South Africa, Europe and Australia is vital to her organization's projects to get materials and resources. At the time of the interview, she had recently gotten permission to translate the official Reform Judaism informational website, reformjudaism.org, into Portuguese and Spanish, as well as the Reform Judaism interpretation/translation of the *Chumash*, Torah. Twice a week she would sit with the translator and editor to create the Portuguese and Spanish, and once a week with a committee to read the English with the new translations to see if they matched in terms of the religious interpretation of the holy texts. Later, she read the reviewed, translated copies with the translator between both languages to clarify any changes. Translation of written texts is a mediated practice of linguistic identity performance that involves interpretation and often high stakes. When I asked how she felt in the role of translator and coordinator doing this work, she expressed the paradoxical nature of the experience of translation:

> It's been a little bit frustrating because it's not just translating to explain; I have to have and find the exact word that we are looking for because of the *Chumash* we are translating…I use an app that gives all the different synonyms that we use to find the right one. It's not just a matter of explaining, it's finding the exact word we're looking for…Because I know the text—I've studied it many, many times—I realize [that in translating it,] it's a new way of reading it. It sometimes makes me really angry at the text, because it's horrible. It makes me very frustrated because it's hard to understand. Like, "why is it written this way where it repeats itself twenty times?" and sometimes it's amazing, and how somebody could write this in this way and why would they write it in this way…it's all these questions. I studied it many times but I've never studied it in this

depth or in this way of looking at it word by word to see if they make sense, and then seeing if the whole sentence makes sense.

Though for a different purpose and audience than Carlos's, Camila's use of English in the workplace as a translator of religious texts and resources contributed to her continued investment in the language. Because she had encountered Reform Judaism abroad, and had begun to practice her faith during her studies in the U.S., Camila's religious identity and interaction with new values, doctrines, and lifestyle choices in her religious practice were wrapped up in English, as opposed to Portuguese (or French). These experiences at the crossroads of her religious and linguistic identities caused her to make the work done in this space her life's work.

Several additional participants also mentioned their deliberate or unintentional using English in the workplace in Brazil not only as symbolic capital, but also as an important way to maintain language level (and thereby L2 identity) in a monolingual context. Livia taught English to children for several years upon her return to Brazil, and then much later used her experience to co-create an extracurricular English program for the children of her client's (a supermarket chain) employees. While Carlos talked about this in terms of purposeful sharing and discussion of articles and videos in English in the classes he teaches in Audiovisual design at a local university, Fernanda discussed how the international corporate culture of her job at a multinational telecommunications company and the importance of being able to communicate effectively about the issues at hand and also establish meaningful relationships. Elena and Lucas talked about the importance of conducting research and reading material for their work in English, though Elena served in a similar capacity as Fernanda in that she mediated as an interpreter between office members who were uncomfortable communicating in English.

As the archetypal user of this strategy out of all the participants in this study, Carlos and his narrative connect to Norton's constructs of imagined identities and investment in several ways. Carlos might be described or describe himself as having high investment in English because of how proficiency corresponds directly to his imagined professional identity as a filmographer and editor, as well as what he perceives is his global professional network in cinema and advertising. His connection to a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) through his working experiences and the particular work culture he encountered in Calgary may also account for the development of his imagined identity in English.

Strategies in informal language learning contexts. The following subsection describes the strategies used by participants in creating opportunities for L2 use and maintaining L2 identity ties at home and abroad.

Curation of personal language practice in L2 at home and abroad. *I deliberately create spaces of practice to perform my English identity.* Several of the participants in the present study talked about their use of English in global technology interfaces. As the digital has shaped language practices and provided dynamic ways of making meaning, it has also provided new opportunities to construct and represent online identities through which they discover, document, and display information corresponding to their lives through various modalities (Darvin, 2016). During our discussion of the activities she participated in to maintain her English in Brazil, Elena believed it was mostly through her personal and professional internet use.

> Quando faço um search no Google, [faço] em inglês porque acho que o inglês é mais claro do que o português; é mais fácil fazer uma pergunta ou procurar algo em inglês. Tal vez é por uma questão cultural, não sei. Acho que o brasileiro não é muito objetivo, e o Americano é muito, e aí acaba tudo que é feito e falado mais objetivo. [When I do a

> Google search, I always do it in English because I think English is clearer than Portuguese; it's easier to ask question or search for something in English. Maybe this is because of a cultural difference, I don't know. I think Brazilians aren't very objective, and Americans are, so the result is that everything done and said is more objective.].

At a time when obtaining "the right type" of information online is so critical for many of our short-term and long-term needs, her use of English allows her access to more options. Her perception of greater objectivity in the information that appears in English searches—in other words, the quality and veracity of the content—impacts how she interprets, integrates, and shares that information over time. Through her practice of accessing this "objective" information, Elena develops how that information relates to her identity, as she discusses her findings and models her access to others, she also informs their concepts of who she is.

In a similar way, Carlos discussed his strategic use of English in social media. For any user, status updates and pictures posted are rhetorical performances, not transparent representations of reality, and the performance of sociality is shaped by the way the interaction is enabled and valued (Darvin, 2016). Because the nature of his work as a video editor and teacher requires him to create a digital presence on several platforms, he uses his social media profiles as content feeds for his students and professional network by sharing relevant information about the industry rather than personal content. When he chooses to share a video or article in English, he does so acknowledging that some of his audience will understand, and others will "fall behind." Essentially, Carlos takes Elena's L2 information-seeking process one step further by further curating it for his own specific audience by weighing the exigency of the subject matter with anticipated frustration that the content is not in Portuguese. If the prestige of English and the association of information products created in English with objectivity carries for his audience,

the social media platform creates additional digital spaces for re-sharing, commenting, and perhaps come to represent who Carlos is. By designing his digital presence around the professional discourses of his work, he affects how his performance of identity is received by others: “na hora que você vê que tá nesse universe porque nesse acontece que de você transformar a sua rede também compartilhando coisas.” [When you see that you’re in that universe, it’s because there you transform your network by sharing things].

Darvin (2016) maintains that as language learners “retreat in private, isolated spaces, navigating both online and offline worlds, the mechanisms of power become more invisible,” making it increasingly difficult to follow how specific “communicative events are indexical of macrostructures of power” (p. 530). He suggests that it is pertinent for identity-focused SLA research to pay attention to how ideologies “collude and compete” and position learner’s identities them in different ways as learners engage and traverse multiple online spaces (p. 530). As we see in the cases of Elena and Carlos, their economic, cultural and social capital shifts as it travels across time and space (Darvin, 2016; Norton, 2000). The value is determined by ideologies of different groups that determine how the capital of learners is ‘perceived and recognized as legitimate (Bourdieu 1977), and whether it is deemed worthy of being transformed into symbolic capital (Darvin, 2016). By communicating across multiple symbolic systems in the online world, individuals can imagine new identities and ways of being in the world, and perhaps influence those in their network to do the same.

Beyond the digital sphere, several participants also discussed their strategic curation of created or consumed cultural products in English. Eduardo, Camila, Aline, and Lucas talked about the importance of reading fiction and non-fiction books and articles in English as a way to both keep up their language use, but also to gain more knowledge (Camila, Lucas). All 10

participants had a ready list of films, television shows, videos, and podcasts they watched and listened to in English in private or social capacities. For Camila, it was listening to children's podcasts as a family in the car as well as ones related to issues in her work as an NGO director. For Eduardo and Carlos, it was exposure to Hollywood movies in English from an early age with subtitles (rather than dubbing) that kindled a lifelong interest and professional goal in filmmaking. Classic television shows that aired in the 1990s and 2000s like "Friends" and "Medium," as well as current ones like "Homeland," "Game of Thrones," and "RuPaul's Drag Race," are now available via Netflix, HBO and other platforms in Brazil, so several participants (Eduardo, Carlos, Daniel, Isabela, Elena, Camila) named these specifically (among others) in terms of "keeping up their English" listening skills as well as coming to represent some aspect of their identities.

For Daniel, following each season of RuPaul's Drag Race allowed him to connect to the global LGBTQ+ community because of how the show drives culture and politics in the U.S. and by default, the world.

> It's a part of my community. As a gay person, I watch a lot of it. I usually talk a lot about it with my friends, so we have a lot of inside jokes about it…When I was living in Los Angeles, I used to go to West Hollywood with a lot of gay people, and I would try to connect with them [by talking about it]. That's why I still watch it.

By watching the show in Brazil and abroad, Daniel can maintain "insider knowledge" about emerging LGBTQ+ culture as well as relationships with others who use the show as a point of orientation in that culture. Viewing-cultures for other shows also play an increasing role in translingual and transcultural connections online as these shows become more widely and digitally available, and allow the viewer to choose from a variety of linguistic formats. It is only

with recent technological developments that many foreign shows and movies that appear on Brazilian networks can even be viewed without dubbing, not to mention, with Portuguese or English subtitles. These many options cater to L2 learners' informal language practice and therefore foster exposure and normalize spoken English in an audiovisual realm outside of what has historically been occupied by music.

There is arguably no more significant cultural mode in which language ideologies have been played out in Brazilian culture than in music. Montes (2016) discusses the use of English in Brazilian music as an "innovative function" of the language in the Brazilian context. This begins with the ironic, critical use of English in samba music to exemplify the perception of "linguistic imperialism" and communicate the samba genre's overall disapproval of the fascination with all things American, their defense in preserving Brazilian culture, but also their unintentional reinforcement of the ideologies found in the class divisions of English users and of English as the language belonging to the elite classes (Montes, 2016; Paiva, 1995). Contrastively, we see an ironic celebration of English used by Caetano Veloso and many of his contemporaries (as described in the introduction) to subvert censorship and repression during the dictatorship (Paiva & Pagano, 2001). By singing in English, and even going to lengths to compose, record and use English pseudonyms, many of these musicians went on to garner international ties and at the same time develop the idea of cultural and linguistic fusion as a defining characteristic of modern Brazilian culture (Montes, 2016). Post-dictatorship, the Brazilian market for music in English, regardless of genre, has been a constant fixture of the industry and aesthetic tastes.

Expectedly, then, two participants chose to talk about their relationship with music in English as a critical feature of their imagined L2 identities. For both Eduardo and Daniel, the experience of listening to their favorite music in English drastically changed as they began to

study and acquire English at home and abroad. As an exercise in language learning practice in an informal context, listening to music in English allowed Daniel to "push himself to understand what they're saying" in hip-hop songs, and Eduardo to "practice looking up the meanings of words and recognizing those word in different songs." As Daniel concludes:

> Eu me relaciono por duas coisas: uma, por causa da lingua, que por ser muito dificil de entender, eu gusto de me desafiar, daí eu fico "What?! O que é que ele tá falando?" daí eu volto e tento entender e olho os lyrics para entender o que significa uma coisa…para mim e mais uma forma de aprender; me desafia e me leva para um lugar que eu gostava.
>
> [I relate to hip-hop music for two reasons: first, because of the language; however hard it is to understand, I like to challenge myself. So if I listen and say to myself "What?! What is he saying?" I go back and try to understand again and I look at the lyrics to see what it meant…for me it's just one more way to learn; I challenge myself and the music takes me to a place that I like to be.].

As in any country, liking certain genres or musicians came to signify membership to different social groups and political affiliations during adolescence. For Daniel it meant understanding his global gay identity and possibly creating a point of commonality with other young LGBTQ+ individuals in Brazil in search of a global identity.

For Eduardo, this more authentic identity performance was achieved through his artistic and social endeavors by joining the punk scene outside São Paulo. His punk rock band, Sally's Home, writes their own songs in English, and while their followers may not understand the lyrics, the band actively encourages them to do the work of translating and deciphering outside of their shows. Eduardo says the band decided to perform and compose in English because of the

intercultural impact bands that sing in English have in their home communities and beyond in terms of the political and sociocultural ideals of the punk genre.

> We want to play outside of Brazil. We have this conversation all the time because sometimes people say, 'oh you guys should play in Portuguese because you are in Brazil, so why not?' But we feel more comfortable in English because the reference is in English. Punk rock is in English; it's an example of something that you can find anywhere in the world even though it started in the U.S. and the U.K. That's why we sing in English—we don't only live in Brazil; we live in the world…if we are singing in English, it's because we think the world is bigger than Brazil…We think that you [the listener] should start to understand another language because if you don't understand English, how can you like all these [other] bands [who play] in English?

Eduardo further claims, describing the experiences of some the other bands in his circuit, that "if you have a band that sings in only Portuguese, you're only going to play in Brazil all your life." An English repertoire at least creates the possibility for both visibility and travel beyond borders as well as confirms the universal themes of revolution and critique in the punk genre.

Pennycook (2007a) argues that from a native English-speaking perspective, the use of English in music is a kind of mimetic appropriation, the performance of which is decontextualized and located in amorphous "global culture." He challenges this notion by viewing English borrowings as enactment rather than copying, and so the meanings of language use and choice lie "not in the semantic realm but in a participation-through-doing that is socially meaningful," thereby creating a "site of cultural difference" (p. 45). Language choice in music reflects prevailing language ideologies. In this case, English could mean imperialism and bourgeoisie, global cultural fusion, etc. However, rather than merely reproducing existing

ideologies, singers, culture workers, and listeners may use music to actively think about, debate, or resist the ideologies at play in the social world around them. Pennycook (2007b), says this is particularly true of musicians such as rap artists and I would argue for Eduardo's band, whose "focus on verbal skills performed in the public domain renders their language use a site of constant potential challenge" (p. 45).

The choices around moves into particular languages may be on pragmatic, aesthetic, or commercial grounds, but they are also political decisions that have to do with language, identity, and authenticity. In his discussion of hip-hop in Brazil, Pardue (2004) suggests that hip-hoppers "view themselves as social agents who force the Brazilian public to be more inclusive about what constitutes knowledge and legitimate perspectives on reality" (p. 412). This sentiment is clearly shared by Eduardo in his description of his band's linguistic and performative choices through which they position themselves as social agents who force the public to be more inclusive about what constitutes legitimate perspectives on social justice, but also on language. By resisting the binary "symbolic functions" or "impressions delivered by a language within a context" (Montes, 2016, p. 28), which position English as a passive marker of status, the band seeks to redefine English affiliation as a global medium of equality, antifascism, and anticapitalism. The band's lyrical metacommentary on the Brazilian tendency ignore the lexical meaning behind a message in English is embedded in its identity negotiation framework.

When the sojourning participants of this study use English—consciously or subconsciously—in their home context, they create the possibility for a hybridized, 'third' space that includes cultural and linguistic information that pertain to understandings of culture in English (global) and culture in Portuguese (local) (Bhabha, 1994). Blommaert argues that what is "globalized" is not an abstract language, but "specific speech forms, genres, styles, and forms of

literacy practices" (2003, p. 608). That is, people have repertoires—not the whole of any language, and they employ specific bits and pieces of language included in these repertoires for different purposes. When these linguistic choices take place in relatively controlled social environments, such as the L2 classroom, it becomes easier to measure correlation between what repertoires are used and how these inform learner identities. However, negotiation between identity and language use reaches far beyond formal language learning environments. In fact, as has been demonstrated exhaustively, very little of the second language learning process can be limited to classroom learning, but rather emerges from second language performance in digital, creative, and relational contexts within and between individuals.

Social and relational strategies developed for the abroad context. In the following subsection, I will organize the strategies into two chronologically formed categories: those formed and acquired abroad for performance of L2 self abroad, followed by the strategies that were either brought back to Brazil and/or are now practiced as a result of the sojourn in the home context in the next subsection. These strategies reflect participants' efforts to relate to others abroad and at home, but also are connected with their understanding of how their identities relate to certain communities via the interactions they have had participating in those communities.

I am adaptable in my social life, and intend to be wherever I am. While Eduardo and Carlos talked directly about wanting to adapt or acculturate to U.S. and Canadian culture, Daniel, Fernanda and Elena chose language that reflected "wanting to take advantage of their time abroad and [that was] immersive" through creating relationships with native speakers. All five participants spoke at length in their interviews about how they tried to embrace an adaptive/acculturative mindset around "being in English" during their sojourns. In terms of strategies, then, Daniel and Carlos talked about how they self-separated from other Brazilians

who were enrolled in their academic programs, or part of the Brazilian immigrant community in order to force themselves to speak more English. Daniel commented on how the fifty other Brazilian students living in the same housing complex made it "horrible" for practicing English in daily life. "Para escapar disso, fiz American friends [To escape from this, I made American friends]," and so with a few other Brazilians who had the same language learning goals, they would go out to bars together and speak only in English. For Carlos, his desire to acquire English was one of the most important reasons why he chose to study and work abroad in Calgary, Canada—he knew there were few Brazilians there. The lack of a large Brazilian immigrant community also convinced him there would be less competition for his job search in the local video production industry: "Se eu for para Vancouver, tem um monte de gente trabalhando lá, então as minhas chances são menores lá…[If I had gone to Vancouver, there are so many people there, so my chances would have been fewer]."

Daniel, Eduardo, and Fernanda pursued opportunities to "take advantage of" being abroad by trying to learn from relationships and interactions with others in a number of different contexts in the U.S. For Daniel, it was exploring digital communication on dating apps in English for the first time, then meeting up with his matches face to face. Even though he said these relationships were not long-term, and mostly physical:

> Só o fato de você conversar com as pessoas, você vê diferentes pontos de vista na mesma coisa e isso é interessante…foi isso que me abriu a cabeça e me fez aprender uma lingua…Você tem que saber as situações e como se comunicar de um jeito que vai além da aula. E a relação com amigos ou outros, já é outra coisa; é o contexto totalmente. [Just by having conversations with people, you see different points of view on the same subject and that is interesting…this is what opened my mind and made me learn another

language…You need to know the situations and how to communicate yourself in them in a way that goes beyond the classroom. And relationships with friends and others, that's a whole different matter: it's totally about context.].

Eduardo also discussed the importance of making new relationships and even just having interactions with different kinds of people in the U.S. (as opposed to those he would establish at home in Brazil before and after his sojourn experience). Though he often felt unsure of his place in the social situation, or whether the native speakers or "insiders" "felt the same about me," he would still accept invitations and join in conversations as much as possible: "When I went on tour with the band from San Diego [to film their trip], we would hang out and were talking but I couldn't speak so much; I was like a rock…and felt stuck…but I was trying."

Fernanda had many opportunities to travel and study during her sojourn— "I actually went to more states in the U.S. than I have in Brazil!" Her willingness to move between different regions and institutions in New Mexico, Minnesota, and Alabama allowed her to connect with what she perceived as "different American cultures." Fernanda found Alabama to be the place with which she resonated the most because of the people: "I think because of my experience in Alabama, I felt more related to there than to the other places…there are more black people or mixture of people like me…I'm not black or white, I'm mixed, so I saw more of that than the other places." She also mentioned that this exposure had an impact on how she developed her language performance in English, particularly in her use of a southern accent and regional slang: "In English I still try to make some jokes like 'Ha!' and 'you know, right'…'get it girl!'…but I think that is the stuff I learned from the culture and I try to apply it. You know, [like] Real Housewives of Atlanta…" Even several years after her sojourn she still maintains some connection to her performance of these regional language features.

In addition to adapting and acculturating to the abroad cultural context, several participants made note of how this process made them aware of cross-cultural sharing, and how they began to act in a new role as cultural ambassador representing and redefining Brazil abroad. For Fernanda and Daniel this was in actively resisting and confronting racial and gendered stereotyping (as described above). Carlos sought to explain the cultural and linguistic diversity of Brazil, explaining to Canadians that though English has an important presence and role in Brazilian society and culture, many Brazilians also speak other languages. He chose to describe this representation of Brazil as a way to explain his language abilities but also to challenge North American monolingualism and ignorance of Latin American realities. Livia and Fernanda both mentioned this issue by talking about how they explained to their hosts in the U.S. about Brazilian culture and about how encountering this overwhelming view of Brazil as a Spanish-speaking, Amazon jungle country made them think about how they reacted and communicated what they knew to be true back to the Americans.

Livia comments about her time in a small community in Michigan as "meio desesperador" [kind of hopeless] because the locals didn't know where Brazil was located "em absoluto—perguntavam se a gente morava em Buenos Aires; nem sabiam que fica em Argentina e não no Brasil." [at all—asking us if we lived in Buenos Aires without even knowing that it's in Argentina, not Brazil]. When she moved to Cincinatti, Livia began working at a daycare in which another Brazilian had previously worked. She talked at length about how it helped her so much to know that one's "interlocutor conhece de onde você vem, um pouco da sua cultura; suas comidas…" [interlocutor knows where you're from, a bit about your culture; your food.]. She said that this made her feel more integrated in the community and helped her to begin hosting native speakers for meals and visits at her house later on.

My connection with others abroad is important for my L2 acquisition and my identity. All participants mentioned they had at least established superficial relationships with English speakers abroad, most of which were lost over time (Isabela, Eduardo, Lucas, Carlos, Daniel, Livia), some talked about more meaningful ones that they have maintained years later. Eduardo and Elena both met their current significant others abroad, and now negotiate these relationships over space and time both home and abroad. Eduardo's American fiancée lives in the U.S. and he believed that "since I started dating [her], I began to feel ok being the outsider [in Brazil]…eu abracei ser o [I embraced being the] outsider and right now I don't care…if they say something about it." Even though the Brazilians in his home context question and challenge his distancing and choices to be "the outsider," his relationship gives legitimacy to these strategies and attitudes.

Elena's husband is Uruguayan, but had lived in the U.S. for over ten years when they met. When asked about whether their meeting abroad had impacted their relationship, she answered:

> Com certeza. A gente tem um relacionamento bem diferente dos casais brasileiros…uma vida de ter morado for a te da outro sentido de familia e de individualidade. As pessoas nos veem com uma familia meio imigrante Americana ainda que não temos green card." [Certainly it does. We have a very different relationship than that of other Brazilian couples…a life lived abroad gives a different sense of family and individuality. People see us as a kind of American immigrant family even though we don't have a green card].

She links these realities at a different point in the interview to her feeling of home-less-ness and also her efforts raising her children to speak English and Spanish in Brazil, as well as finding a way to return to the U.S.—all of which she claims to share with her husband.

At the time of Isabela's sojourn in Orlando, Florida, her mother had recently married an American man, though Isabela describes her mother's level of English proficiency significantly lower than her own. Living at their house, Isabela not only negotiated what it meant to be in a new family situation abroad and get to know her step-father, but also serve as an interpreter for her mother: "Como eu falo mais e entendo mais que a minha mãe, pra ele eu era meio um porto seguro, sabe...o que a minha mãe não entendia, eu fiquei no meio assim sabe." [Since I understand more than my mom does, I was kind of a "safe harbor" for him, you know? What my mom didn't get, I kind of stayed in the middle.]. For Isabela, these new emerging roles were in their early stages, but continued to inform how she understood her relationship with both of them as she called them regularly from Brazil.

Though Aline's initial sojourn experience took place many years prior, she was able to maintain contact with her British host family until the time of her interview. After divorces, remarriages, visits to Brazil, and children, she and her host brothers had followed each other's lives from a distance. A few days before we met, one of the sons of the family had contacted Aline to report his father had passed away. She was unsure of whether she would travel to attend the funeral, but she relayed her fondness for them: "Me aproximei muito com eles…essa familia é muito carinhosa…ainda falo direto com um dos filhos no Whatsapp." [I got very close to them…that family is very loving…I still keep in touch with one of the sons on Whatsapp.]. She mentioned how her continued connection to the family was one more context in which she could continue to use her English, even if only occasionally.

It is also important to mention that Fernanda and Livia meaningfully connected with other Brazilians abroad after they established greater proficiency in English and became more comfortable in their lives abroad. For Fernanda, this was important because she had experienced

two very different groups of Brazilians abroad—privileged and entitled students who expected their parents to send them money every month and were disrespectful to her and others from her socioeconomic class, as well as fellow government scholarship recipients from similar backgrounds. She said that finding the latter group was a relief at the end of her sojourn. For Livia, it was only when she finally was able to see and talk to other Brazilians after being isolated in a rural community in Upper Michigan, that she began to feel settled in her life in the U.S. These relationships, though likely conducted in Portuguese primarily, were responsible for boosting the confidence of both participants as they encountered homesickness and L2 frustration during the sojourns, allowing them to begin to more actively participate in target language communities. Though they are in different parts of the country today, their initial connection abroad and the experiences shared has caused them to maintain contact many years later.

I actively participated in religious communities abroad in English and brought back what I learned. As the results of the study have demonstrated so far, feeling a part of an institution, community, or project has been a critical aspect of L2 identity formation and negotiation. We have seen this already in Daniel's reflections about his joining of the LGBTQ+ community and social scene in Kansas City and Los Angeles, and I will return to his discussion of this in regard to his identity in Part 4.

To a comparable extent, three other participants chose to join religious communities of different types and for different purposes during their sojourns in the United States. In Brazil, Fernanda belongs to an Evangelical Baptist Church, so in the U.S. she joined and left several churches in search of the "right fit." Elena chose to join her campus Hillel organization as a way to meet others from her Jewish faith but also to ensure she was practicing with native English

speakers. As we have discussed previously, Camila discovered Reform Judaism during her sojourn, and it has played a significant role in the negotiation of her identity between languages and cultures. Though they noted the changes to different extents, all three talked about how their participation in these communities and their religious experiences therein through unique cultural lenses were integral aspects of their identity negotiation abroad because of the central role religion had played in their lives prior to the sojourn.

Fernanda first noted how surprised she was about how church-goers in the U.S. did not conform to her initial expectations or assumptions that she had held about religious communities in her denomination in Brazil. She was shocked when many "didn't actually read the Bible, and didn't express what they should in their lives," specifically in terms of hostility towards immigrants in Christian communities. In her positive encounters, Fernanda talked about being able to "express" her faith and "share her difficulties" with members who would "look after" her. Even during the interview, she said that she was still connected with some members of a congregation in New Mexico: "They care, remember, and pray about me, and I also look after them…this is good because then my community is not just in São Paulo and Brazil, it's also abroad; my community is global." Beyond the relationships she had established, Fernanda also talked about how English entered into her practices of worship: "Sometimes I pray out loud to myself in English. I also read the Bible in English in different versions…"

At this point in the interview, Fernanda grew reflective and began to wonder about why in Brazil there were so many English elements in her church's services, particularly in the music. She recalled that many English songs brought by American evangelical missionaries had been sloppily translated into Portuguese, and then used in church and that she "couldn't bear it" because it was just "too strange." When I asked her why it seemed strange to her, Fernanda said

that “it has a different meaning in English. I understand it in English, and in Portuguese it is translated to represent what the original is saying, but I don’t *feel* it.”

As I continued to ask her to clarify her ideas, she realized that the context for importing and translating American hymns to Brazil did not involve the Brazilian community in an inclusive way: “We as an evangelical community have the maturity to start writing our own songs and books and talk about theology [without] just copying and pasting other authors.” Fernanda then asked me if I had noticed that this borrowing and appropriating was a constant in Brazilian culture. Wanting to give her the opportunity to flush out her thoughts behind this claim, I continued to ask her why she believed this was the case. Ultimately, the conversation returned to race:

> I think this goes back to everything that happens in Brazil, not just in religion. We always think that the outside is better than what is ours, and prejudice…Brazil was built up by native Americans, Europeans, and Africans, and it seems to go back to the idea that everything African is bad…Black is bad, curly hair is bad…we have to *whiten* it…This *batuque*; this thing with the hips…it’s not good… ‘God doesn’t like it.’ Sometimes it seems like the evangelical church just wants to whiten things because we don’t recognize this is the culture in which we live…It becomes holier to have straight hair…well you know, god gave me curly hair, so I don’t care!

Fernanda’s lament-turned-triumphant-rejection of what she has observed in practice is one more frontier of English playing out as symbolic capital in the struggle to understand what can be valued in Brazilian culture considering the complexity of race and class. The appropriation of English into evangelical practice in Brazil is a symbolic linguistic choice to attempt to whiten congregation members of color, thereby achieving greater spiritual, social and political

legitimacy. Fernanda's participation in the church communities abroad untangled these myths of religious legitimacy through whiteness and provided a critical framework for her to approach rethinking her participation in her own church community back in Brazil by negotiating hybridized global and local expressions of faith. It is also important to note that she chose to do this critically reflective work during the interview in English.

For Elena, her faith membership in Judaism and her knowledge of a community that was easily accessible on her university campus allowed her to socialize with native speakers in a more familiar context—one in which assumptions about affiliation, values, and perhaps even practices were already held by whoever showed up to Hillel meetings. As in other transnational student organizations, Hillel possibly became a site for other exchange students of the Jewish faith as well, further creating a culture of a global faith community communicated through English and, in specific instances, Hebrew. Elena's participation in the campus Hillel chapter developed her identity more in terms of being able to converse and express herself in English in a "safe space" where she knew she had something in common with others. Rather than shifting the nature of her religious identity through her participation in English-speaking, American-centered faith practices and progressive interpretations of holy texts, as was the case for Camila.

While associated from its foundation with the Hebrew language in which its sacred texts are almost entirely composed, Judaism has regularly developed religious roles for other languages given the reality of the diaspora of Jewish peoples. As Camila claims in her interview, the most recent iteration of a lingua franca other than Hebrew for organizing people around religious practice and meeting across boundaries is English. When I asked her about the difference between Jewish communities in Brazil as compared to the U.S., she responded by explaining how they approach religious practices and textual interpretation in contrastive ways.

She believes that "U.S. Jewish culture is 25 to 30 years ahead of Brazil" citing the first Jewish lesbian wedding having taken place the week before our interview. She noted that there are simply more resources about Judaism available in English than any other language. When she listens to faith-based podcasts or reads scholarly literature about Judaism and brings it to her workplace or Torah readings, she always received shocked responses from her fellow worshippers because they had never engaged in the greater bodies of knowledge precisely because it was only available English.

Camila claimed that this was one of the main reasons she chose to go to graduate school in the U.S. Though she was deeply invested in her ability to use Hebrew in her religious practice and translation work, English was her preferred mode of talking *about* the work and practice she did. There is a kind of special importance given to the teaching, learning and using of an original language of a sacred text—in this case Hebrew. However, as Souza (2016) claims, language is not the only knowledge necessary for the reading of religious texts or by extension, being a full member of a religious group. Rather, she posits "faith literacies" are of greater interest in determining the role of language in the development of religious identities. These are defined as "practices involving reading of written texts (scripts), the use of oral texts (discussions about the faith, relationship with a deity or other members of the faith community), the performance of faith through actions (silent or not), and knowledge (including theological, geographical, and historical information about the faith)" (p. 198). Camila acknowledges this reality when she says: "If I need to discuss any theme, I do it in English. My Hebrew is not enough to have a discussion and express my point in the way want." Exercising her multilingual engagement in her faith becomes the baseline for her identification with and agentive practice of Reform Judaism.

> Because I lived in the U.S. for so long, it's not my work that impacted my identity, it's my Jewishness. Even if I change jobs, I can't get rid of the American experience I had within the [U.S.] Jewish community…I would have to shake it really hard to get rid of it.

Due to her experience and access to the "global Jewish community abroad," Camila perceived that Brazilian Jews viewed her in a different way when she returned from the U.S.:

> When I go to services there—and I hate services in Brazil—they say 'ah because of your experiences [abroad], that's why you don't like what we do here'…So in the Jewish sphere, they don't see me as a Brazilian anymore. I am now a representative of American Jewishness.

To mitigate her feelings of frustration and disappointment in trying to share her experiences and desire to change the status quo in Brazil, Camila tries to hide her true reactions to fellow faith members at home until they push her to be honest.

Camila's case of having a multilingual and intersectional identity presents its own challenges for deep analysis in regard to the two research questions of this study. Her experiences reflect the meta-conversation about the importance of context in identity negotiation as well as finding the language to think about one's identity. Camila's religious identity is important to her for specific reasons and she expresses this through how she selectively chooses to participate in the religion. Her multilingual competence allows her to make such choices, while also further bolstering her identity because of how other Brazilians see her (which she constantly monitors) and how she sees herself.

Souza (2016) describes Hemming and Madge's (2011) concept of religious identity, or the identification of an individual with a religious tradition, as being comprised of four features: "(1) affiliation and belonging; (2) behaviors and practices; (3) beliefs and values; and (4)

religious and spiritual experiences" (as cited in Souza, 2016, p. 196). Language plays various roles in each of these within the individual and through their relationship with others in the faith community. As we have seen in Fernanda, Elena, and Camila's narratives, the identity negotiation required to navigate the differences between religious community expectations across borders is as connected to language as it is to the different cultural practices of religion itself.

Strategies for performance of L2 Self in the L1 context of Brazil. *I use English socially for my L2 acquisition and for my identity in Brazil.* Another discovery that resulted from the interviews was that much like the cultural products participants made decisions about consuming as a way to maintain English in their lives, so too did they try to bring their L2 into daily life interactions and the most intimate circles of friends, family, and home space. Daniel, Carlos, Camila, Aline, and Livia discussed the different ways they went about socializing with L2 speakers or, in some cases choosing to practice the language with Brazilians in their inner social circle who had similar L2 performance goals. For Camila, Elena, and Livia, English use at home has been a priority in the project of raising their children. While Camila and Elena, mothers with children under 10 years of age, were in the process of making English a part of their children's lives within the critical period for acquisition, Livia's daughters were of the age that they could travel abroad for their own extended, immersive language experiences. Camila reported that she spoke to her children in English regularly, however, noticing that it "came out" in specific instances, particularly surrounding their bilingual school life and also in their watching of children's movies and television programs. She believed that it was important for them to get as much access and exposure as possible in the Brazilian context, but was concerned that this was still not enough. Elena seconded this, but noted that she did not speak with her children in

English because it felt “strange and uncomfortable” to her. Both mothers talked about their desire to return abroad as a way to provide better opportunities for L2 acquisition for their children in addition to their professional or acculturative goals.

Livia viewed English as a contested language in her home for several reasons. In similar ways to Camila and Elena, she tried to ensure a high amount of exposure to the L2 at home and by signing her daughters up for private classes. Her older daughter, who was studying abroad at a university in California at the time of the interview was more invested in her English language learning process and L2 identity than her younger daughter who was still in high school in Rio de Janeiro. Livia believed this might be a personality or maturity issue, but it caused her some frustration and distress when her younger daughter resisted Livia’s appeals to take her L2 learning more seriously. She also commented that both her daughters were “irritated” with her when she used English at home as a way of speaking in code so that the family’s live-in maid would not understand their conversations because they believed this was a demonstration of her “inferiority.” Livia believed her propensity to communicate in this manner was “automatic” and that making their maid feel inferior was not her intention. She lamented that her daughters did not have the opportunity to spend some of their childhoods abroad so as to have access to English, but was very relieved that her elder daughter was at least experiencing the sojourn at the time of the interview.

In addition to speaking English at home with family members and visiting L2 native speaker friends, Aline, Livia, and Camila talked about how they had made it a habit to go to multicultural events and spaces that they knew would be held in English, or where non-Brazilians would likely be present. These ranged from exhibits or shows at local museums, lectures, guest speakers at religious services, and other social events. Several of the other

participants also mentioned their desire to participate in such activities, but that it was difficult because of where they lived (if not in the cosmopolitan Rio de Janeiro) or that they did not know of such events. When asked about using their English to speak with a visitor to Brazil, very few had even encountered tourists in their daily lives, much less remembered such interactions as having a legitimate and long-term context for relationship building and sharing in English. This was unsurprisingly quite the opposite to what they had described as being important in the way they formed relationships through English abroad.

I use my bilingual and bicultural knowledge to address systemic issues in my country. Many of the participants believed that the negotiative identity strategies they developed abroad had led to them being able to reframe ideas of "Brazil" within ideas of "the World." For Isabela, Daniel, and Fernanda this reframing was a practice of actively looking at Brazil with new eyes and re-evaluating positives as well as difficult realities of Brazil. Isabela and Fernanda demonstrated this by expressing their frustration with how Brazilians undervalue their culture and economic potential both in terms of the natural wealth of Brazil (Isabela), as well as the richness in cultural traditions that could add to the development of a more inclusive Brazilian evangelical church (Fernanda). For Daniel, though he sometimes struggled to move between his linguistic identities to communicate himself how he wished in Brazil, he believes the sojourn opened his mind and allowed him to see the reality that little had changed in his absence:

> Minha familia era a mesma. Todo mundo fazia os mesmos empregos e tudo muito igual, e daí eu volto com uma outra bagagem. Daí, em vez de ficar irritado, eu consegui entender eles um pouquinho mais…que é a vida deles, que não tiveram essa experiência, e que não da pra você dar a mesma carne para as pessoas que você já tem. [My family was the same. Everyone worked the same jobs and everything was as it was before, and

> here I came with different baggage. So, instead of getting irritated, I was able to understand them a little bit more…that it's *their* life—they didn't have this experience, so you can't expect them to eat from the same plate you've already finished {sic "you can't give the same meat you've already eaten to other people"}].

His understanding that his loved ones could never share his experience positioned him to make decisions about how he would proceed in maintaining meaningful relationships with them into the future, as well as knowing how to support them practically and financially as he thought about whether he would eventually return abroad or not. Later in the interview, he also reflected on the importance of his negotiations of racialized or racist interactions abroad as a stepping off point for bringing these subjects into discussion in Brazil. I will discuss this in a later section as it relates to *how* Daniel thinks about what strategies he has used post-sojourn.

For Isabela, Fernanda, and Camila, it was developing themselves in a new social and professional role as a critical problem-solver that determined part of their identity negotiation in the home context. Isabela's perception that Brazil's postmodern struggles with socioeconomic inequality, consumerism, and comparison with the U.S. can only be resolved through critical reflection:

> "A gente está sempre tentando alcançar os Estados Unidos, mas nessa busca, a gente fica perdida no consumismo e não leva a gente a lugar nenhum, intelectualmente falando…A gente fica nadando na lama; só vai piorar eu acho. O Brasil já retrocedeu anos e anos. É triste porque é um país riquíssimo e grande pra caramba" [We are always trying to catch up to the U.S., but in this effort, we get lost in consumerism, and this doesn't get us anywhere, intellectually speaking…We are stuck swimming in the mud; it's only going

> to get worse, I think. Brazil is already going backwards in time years and years. It's sad because it's a very rich and enormous country].

To act on her beliefs, she planned to go back to university to study sociology and perhaps use her experiences abroad, her multinational connections (via her mother and stepfather) and her proficiency in English to her work in the future. For Fernanda, her critical problem-solving enters into her participation in their respective religious communities, either developing Brazilian-centered practices of worship and modelling racially-inclusive beliefs as in Fernanda's case, or introducing and normalizing progressive faith practices and creating new resources available in Portuguese in Camila's work to expand Reform Judaism networks in Brazil.

Fernanda and Camila's ventures in their faith communities can also be seen as acts of interpretation and translation of special kinds of local or global knowledge available outside Brazil to be understood in the Brazilian context. This is also true for Eduardo and the new insights he brings to his band in taking topics specific to punk subculture in the U.S. and integrating into songs and performances in Brazil. Carlos and Elena also identified themselves as translator-interpreters of global topics, products, events, significant news to be better understood in the Brazilian context among friends and coworkers. For Carlos, this was coming up recently (at the time of the interview) as a part of his consulting work for a local gym:

> Eu acabo seguindo muitos sites e perfis na Instagram principalmente e eles tem muito contexto do que funciona de piada em academia que as vezes eu falo "puts eu não vou fazer isso daqui porque não vai funcionar…algumas funcionam, mas outros falam "olha o jeito que é nos EUA…" ou tem outros que são globais…que você pode colocar em qualuer lingua e todo mundo vai entender, isso que é bem louco. [I end up following a lot sites and Instagram profiles because they carry a lot of context about what kind of jokes

> and content work for gyms, so sometimes I say to myself "man, I am not going to do that because it's definitely not going to work…" Some work, but others say "look how it is in the US…" or there are others that are more global…that you could put in whatever language and everyone will understand; that's what's so crazy.].

Because of his understanding of multiple cultural contexts and rhetorical priorities, he is able to make strategic rhetorical decisions about information flows and advertising on behalf of the company. This skillset can then be transferred to other contexts in the future, with his specialized experience setting him apart in the market for globally-informed audiovisual work in Brazil.

For Carlos, Camila, Eduardo, Elena, and Aline this is further characterized in how they came to be seen as representatives of the world by embodying an expert in language and cultural competence. Elena commented on how her boss would feel uncomfortable speaking in English with American clients on the phone, and would ask Elena to cover her responsibilities of correspondence. She also mentioned how she has been invited to meetings with Americans that did not necessarily concern her job functions precisely because of her ability to "conversar sobre assuntos diversos em inglês" [converse about diverse subjects in English]. Camila noted that after returning to Brazil, "many people were intimidated to speak English around [her]" and during the group translation sessions in her work, her colleagues said "you read [an English text] out loud…Camila is the expert" because they believed she had a more reliable control over the language. Though this made her uncomfortable, she often obliged, until she started pushing them to read aloud later on. Camila and Fernanda both expressed unwillingness to correct other Brazilians' English, even when they asked, with the exception of Camila's correcting her own children's English language use at home. The participants who discussed these new roles seemed

to be aware of their transformed sense of self as well as the choices this change implied in interacting with Brazilians in their lives who had not experienced extended sojourns involving L2 acquisition in an immersive context.

I returned with a desire to expand and develop my English-Speaking Brazilian network. Perhaps unsurprisingly, another identity negotiating strategy used by participants in their post-sojourn experiences at home was the recalibrating of existing relationships and fostering of new ones in social as well as professional circles. Eduardo, Camila, and Fernanda claimed to have established new kinds of relationships across different social lines upon their return to the U.S., citing their sojourn experience as having "opened them up" to doing so. Camila, Aline, Elena, Livia, Eduardo, Carlos, Fernanda, Lucas all talked about becoming a point of reference and model for others to go abroad at some point in their interviews. Daniel and Carlos described how they had each originally been encouraged by their private teachers (who had also gone abroad and returned), and then paid this support forward by urging others to follow the same programmatic avenues or to try to study and work in the same places abroad.

Building a transnational network seemed particularly important to Carlos's negotiation of his L2 identity in Brazil. Maintaining his professional relationships abroad and reaching the goals he set for himself in creating an updated network after returning to Brazil was a central part of his interview narrative:

> Consegui entender tutoriais, avançar em umas outras coisas, manter o contato com as pessoas com que eu aprendi fora…não foi uma coisa que terminou o intercâmbio e não falava também, e pessoa fala "puta, que saco falar com Carlos, que ele não entende nada"…mais não, eu consegui manter minhas relações em redes sociais com colegas e amigos que eu fiz fora….tanto que muitas coisas que eu posto, eu posto em inglês porque

> eu falo “isso aqi é para o pessoal de lá…[I was able to understand tutorials, get better at some other aspects, maintain contact with people I met abroad…it wasn’t as if the exchange ended and I stopped speaking, and people said “God, what a pain to talk with Carlos; he doesn’t understand anything”…but no, I was able to maintain my relationships via social media with the colleagues and friends I made abroad…so much so, that much of what I post online, I post in English because I say to myself “this [content] here would be for them [the people I know] abroad.”].

He also discussed how he was helping his girlfriend in her English study in Brazil, with the hope she could overcome her fear and reticence to a point that they could perhaps return to Canada to work and study together. Archanjo (2017) discusses similar experiences and movements in Brazil in terms of a shift to a knowledge-based economy and society. Under the flag of globalization with its economic, political, cultural and technological paradigms, Brazil has engaged education, particularly higher education, as an agent of change. Driven by the discourse of fostering a global knowledge-based economy, educational policy focuses on the enhancement of economic competitiveness and technological and advanced training. She argues that mobility as a key post-modern feature of contemporary societies necessitates language diversity and awareness of the symbolic and practical power different languages possess Carlos, and the other participants that demonstrate strategies of identity negotiation through their network building/reorganization participate in practices of mobility that have inevitable personal and societal effects upon Brazilian socioeconomic, cultural, and political agency. Projects in mobility and network building in the re-entry context also alter and generate new discourses and observable models of what an L2 imagined community can look like in opposition to existing language ideologies about English and Portuguese.

I am aware of what my L2 ability and experience abroad will mean to others in Brazil. Given the controversial nature of what it means to perform English in Brazil, participants also exhibited what I will call "relational coping strategies" to negotiate difficult and uncomfortable interactions with monolingual Brazilians as a part of their reentry in the L1 context. Not only did the participants feel as though they were seen and in some cases treated differently as a result of their sojourns, their use of language became a contested practice of marking and reaction from their Brazilian coworkers, friends, and family members. Upon returning to Brazil, all participants except Carlos and Lucas observed two types of negative responses: hyperawareness and monitoring of their English use, as well as jealousy of the abroad experience as triggered by the use of English phrases and/or even just discussing stories from their sojourn. Isabela described her encounters with friends upon returning home as caught between "being *endeusada*" [sic deified] and working around their expressions of jealousy. For Daniel, he struggled to reenter social circles at home because he felt he was purposefully excluded *because* he had been abroad:

> Por mais que a minha nota era o maior no meu curso inteiro da universidade, e as pessoas sabiam disso…mesmo assim eles não queriam fazer grupo comigo porque "ah não, ele deve se sentir superior," e na verdade não é! Esse medo ou inveja vinha da parte deles. [Even though my grades and standing were the highest in the university, and people knew about that…even so, they didn't want to make a social group with me because "oh, I bet he feels superior," when in reality this isn't true at all! This fear or envy was coming from them.].

His interlocutors would rarely react positively to this feature of his speech style, and he believed they saw him "expressing superiority."

Aline and Camila also mentioned they had observed jealous behavior in reaction to their English use or discussion of their sojourn experience at times. While Camila believes this is primarily an issue of lack of financial means and connections to a way abroad either through work, study, or extended travel, Aline believes it comes from a "lack of courage" (though she also cites the economic reasons). Eduardo noticed a kind of culturally-specific response to the act performing L2 English in Brazil in his own experience and also observing others.

> I saw this guy in the airport returning from the USA, and this is really crazy because a lot of people who were there probably spoke English or at least know how to say something, but they have shame and are embarrassed to ask a question and not be able to speak so well, and have people around them listening and judging them on their language…

He claimed that when a Brazilian ELL is communicating with native speakers, the Brazilian's belief in their empathy for his or her status as a visitor, immigrant, or learner in the middle of their language acquisition process would make the language performance less tenuous than with other Brazilians present.

> Se tem um monte de brasileiros e você vai perguntar em inglês, você tem vergonha porque você vai achar que os brasileiros estão te julgando. Porque se você errar, eles vão falar, "nossa, ele tá tentando falar mas não sabe." Daí você não fala porque tem medo de errar, e você não sabe se eles sabem ou não falar o inglês… [If there are a ton of Brazilians and you are going to ask something in English, you are embarrassed because you will think the Brazilians are judging you. Because if you make a mistake, they are going to say, "wow, look how hard he's trying but he doesn't know anything." So you end up saying nothing because you're afraid of messing up, and you never know if they know English or not…].

Returning to the story of the man he observed at the airport, Eduardo noted that he went out of his way to say the simplest, most informal phrase to an American flight attendant while watching the reactions and monitoring of other Brazilians in the vicinity. In terms of his own personal reentry experience, Eduardo notes that his constant travel between the U.S. and Brazil has made him feel comfortable in his bilingualism, and that he frequently codeswitches and confuses languages subconsciously. He says that his friends translate this as symbolic of him leaving their lives in favor of a future abroad:

> I know they treat me differently because I sometimes speak English accidentally with them, and they make fun of me—"oh, Eduardo fala assim porque ele é *californiano*" [oh, Eduardo talks like that because he's *Californian*] and "oh, chegou o *californiano*" [oh, here comes the *Californian*] if I'm wearing some cool clothes.

Elena and Livia noted a similar reaction from their friends when "slipping up" and using English phrases in a Whatsapp group chat or in conversations, in which they tease them for "outsider" language behavior.

In Fernanda's immediate social circle, she noticed a similar tension over what her friends perceived or imagined as "snobbishness" coming from her after returning to Brazil. However, she noticed the negativity in her interactions centering more on the assumption of her friends, family and acquaintances that life was wholly better for her abroad, and that she was wasting her time and making the wrong decision to return to Brazil. She lamented in our interview: "They expected me to go after something better, which can only be found outside of Brazil, [and said] 'you had the luck to get there; what are you doing here." Without the barrier of the language, they may have seen little reason for her to not remain abroad given the economic opportunities. This perception is echoed in her desire to make her fellow Brazilians aware of the positive

aspects of life and culture and demystify the myths that life abroad is much easier or better that she returns to throughout the interview.

To avoid, balance out, and cope with these negative responses to English use or talk about their sojourn, the participants used several different strategies for self-regulation and self-monitoring. These communicative strategies can be interpreted as strategies for negotiating their imagined identity within the sociocultural linguistic constraints of the home context. Eduardo, Daniel, and Carlos talked about how they omitted information about their sojourn experiences and used silence as a way to redirect attention away from potential points of public teasing or causing their interlocutors to feel "inferior" or "less fortunate." Isabela, Elena, Camila, and Eduardo de-emphasized comments about or expressions complimenting their L2 ability (as judged by other Brazilians) or of their elevated status upon return to Brazil, mentioning this made them feel uncomfortable. When opting for English phrases or proper nouns, as is common, Eduardo, Fernanda, and Elena mentioned that they preserved L1 Brazilian phonological rules when pronouncing these terms, even though they felt strange doing so. Eduardo and Isabela also noted a sense of apathy and disengagement with Brazilians who have not gone abroad or at least express this hyperawareness and judgmental monitoring behavior of language performance. During the interview they expressed this attitude of not caring about other's responses, but it was not clear that they ever challenged this behavior in real-life interactions.

When the L2 is performed more naturally, it is in circles of trust (typically intimate family relationships) or with other Brazilians who have travelled abroad. Fernanda and Elena talked about how they tried to avoid "mixing both worlds" in Brazil by keeping spheres of experience separate according to language. This is why Elena chooses not to speak to her children in English, and why Fernanda prefers to only speak in Portuguese unless she is at her

workplace (which is a multinational communications company with non-Brazilian employees). In these types of relationships and accompanying interactions that could potentially involve English, the participants noticed greater ease in either consciously practicing their English or freely codeswitching with their partners or children (Eduardo, Daniel, Carlos, Camila, Elena, Livia). It was only in such relationships did they feel comfortable correcting their interlocutor's English mistakes and pronunciation.

The case with learning English as a foreign language in Brazil is complicated. So too is the question of jealousy surrounding performances of English in Brazil. As the participants and Diniz de Figuereido (2017) note, mobility is not only associated with speaking English, it also implies that only some who master it will gain the ability to move across social and physical spaces. Perceptions of learners about this reality can actually predetermine the very possibility of learning it—that is, you will only have a real chance to learn English if you have mobility in the first place. While all the participants in Rio de Janeiro and Carlos came from a relatively higher social class with families who could fund their travels, Isabela and Eduardo benefitted from family members abroad and Fernanda and Daniel were supported by government scholarships to study abroad, making this mobility possible for them. Without such support systems, Brazilian ELLs from lower socioeconomic backgrounds may see the language learning process as an exercise in futility, where instead of connecting them to a larger global community, the inability to go abroad becomes one more factor that may distance this global community from them. Performing English in Brazil reflects the deeply-entrenched hierarchical rules in which "social origin and social position are critical to determining what an individual can or cannot do" (p. 36), and where people themselves do not see each other as equals because of differences in their socioeconomic status and race.

As inherently privileged sojourners, Brazilians who have the opportunity to go abroad become what Bourdieu (1977) calls “legitimate speakers,” or at least increase their linguistic legitimacy (depending on how the factors above determined the type of sojourn they experienced abroad). To be legitimate, discourse must be uttered by the appropriate person, to the appropriate audience and rhetorical situation, in “phonologically, syntactically and semantically prescribed ways,” except when “transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer” (p. 650). Between groups and individuals with varying levels of status, negotiation of legitimate language and linguistic capital becomes an omnipresent, contested, sociopolitical process. The more symbolic capital that is associated with English as a global language, the more intense the negotiations about who has access to, and what kinds of performances of English are acceptable grow to be. This is certainly the case in the Brazilian context, in which strict language policies in other areas have come to characterize struggles between social classes. Lesley Bartlett (2007), a language and literacy researcher, went to Brazil with the expectation of studying whether and how Freirean literacy programs empowered students, only to find how shaming about language use was a cultural phenomenon in the lives of her informants. As Bartlett’s qualitative study has shown, the socially-mediated practices of public language judgement have contributed to the “cultural production of inequality by individualizing, psychologizing and embodying responsibility or blame for illiteracy” (p. 547)

Bartlett’s (2007) participants talked at length about how they experienced corrective behavior from people of different social classes and levels of education, and how this was a demonstration of status and to undermine others. Interestingly, she found that people in similar class positions often staked claims to superior speech more forcefully, suggesting that more was at stake or at risk for those claimants than for higher status ones As we have seen in the present

study's participant narratives, this communicative behavior about "speaking proper Portuguese" is similarly carried over into "speaking proper English." The participants have either witnessed or experienced shaming as an embodied event in which the English performer was 'caught out' or exposed as deficient. As Bartlett contends, emotions play a major role in the language performers' "continuous development of a socialized subjectivity" (p. 559), with anticipation of shaming as a powerful interaction routine that influenced their future strategies and actions (which include some of the strategies exhibited by my study's participants). Beliefs about correct and incorrect language use echo paradoxical beliefs about the importance of learning English as a foreign language while accepting that the chance to actually use the FL is exceedingly slim, as well as the idea that a FL should be studied in a formal learning context for best acquisitional outcomes when most Brazilian experiences in schools point to disengagement and divestment. Bartlett accurately notes that posing schooling as the solution to literacy, and by extension, access to global resources via an L2, provides more opportunities for speech shame. In turn, this cycle diverts attention away from the issues of race, class and other forms of social inequality that are indexed by shaming.

As sojourners step outside of these practices and interactional behaviors around language use in Brazil, their return is marked by a precarious position in which the shaming is transformed from a competitive assertion of linguistic capital and status, to one of politeness and deference. In other words, instead of incorrect language use in English being the site of shaming, the use of correct English or insider knowledge about life abroad became signals to what their interlocutors had no access to, and therefore became indirect shaming of monolingual Brazilians. Because of their access to mobility, the sojourning participants chose to overcompensate for their perceived advantages by avoiding situations where shaming-like behavior would arise and limiting their L2

use to relationships that were not determined by the hierarchical social factors mentioned above. The ways in which participants strategically make decisions about how to express their L2 identities in the home context are also ways of negotiating their access to cultural and symbolic capital.

Kamada (2014) proposes that in multilingual individuals with emerging multicultural identities, "intercultural capital" is the consciousness or proficiency which enables people to glocally communicate well with and understand peoples of other "different" cultures as well as those in the "home" context. While Kamada found her participants to "celebrate the linguistic capital of bilinguality," at other times and in different contexts, the girls were also seen rejecting the position of the "English-knowing bilingual" or "English expert" in interactions with their monolingual Japanese peers. Made to feel like "the Other" within the local dominant marginalizing discourses of homogeneity and conformity in Japan, these mixed ethnic girls are able to deconstruct their positioning as *bad difference* by invoking an alternate ideology of diversity and paradoxically, by explicitly constituting their own differentness within a globalizing discourse of interculturalism to reconstitute *bad difference* into *good difference* (p. 248). The participants in the present study link their local identities with their global access to resources made possible by their sojourns in similar ways, though as demonstrated above, they seem to take a more collective approach by empowering themselves as well as others—children, significant others, receptive friends, etc.—in creating "glocal" identities and reclaiming agency through these means.

Pennycook (2007b) talks about English as a discursive field with inherent attached meanings: English is neoliberalism, globalization, and human capital. Kamada proposes that in multilingual individuals with emerging multicultural identities, "intercultural capital" is the

consciousness or proficiency which enables people to glocally communicate well with and understand peoples of other "different" cultures as well as those in the "home" context. An important aspect of identities in the present day context of language use is their multiplicity, or what Benessaieh (2010) terms *a plural sense of self*, as well as the ability to understand the social meaning of how the negotiation of these identities have a greater impact on the language learner's ability to establish a better quality of life as well as make decisions about what this could be for his or her community through language performance as a means as well as an end.

Strategies of Contextualized Language Use and Communicative Awareness. *I am aware of what I know about language.* Several participants demonstrated skill in critical self-reflection in the impromptu context of our interviews. They revealed a metacognitive understanding of how their identity changes through their experiences abroad were connected to their identity changes through their language acquisition process. Daniel and Camila communicated how important it was for them to continue developing deeper understandings of pragmatic, semantic, rhetorical aspects of English. For Daniel this was through becoming aware of contextualized language use within American culture. He also echoed Camila and Livia in the desire to communicate effectively and appropriately in all L2 contexts that they may encounter, while also expanding the possibilities for those instances to occur either in Brazil or abroad. Isabela, Daniel, Eduardo, Fernanda, and Livia also talked about their relationship with English in terms of knowing exactly what they wanted or needed to improve and mentioned the importance of creating intentionality around those deficits. For Daniel, this was the philosophy and praxis of going beyond the classroom, "putting the time in" and "filling my life with English." Isabela wanted to focus on expanding her vocabulary as a specific learning goal, while Eduardo, Fernanda, and Daniel were concerned about their Grammar in writing. Elena and Livia talked

about how they knew they should try to maintain their L2 listening comprehension at a certain level where they would not need to concentrate too hard to understand.

I am aware of what I want to try to express about myself. When responding to aspects of learning an L2 that were difficult, or barriers to L2 acquisition, both Daniel and Camila talked about the importance of translating the self as opposed to simply memorizing phrases and "basic communication." Daniel compares his efforts as an English speaker as categorically different from those of other Brazilians:

> É meio estranho as vezes porque uma pessoa fala [it's kind of strange because sometimes a person will say] "I already know how to use" but they don't really; they don't know how to even describe themselves…Maybe they can learn how to read or translate something, but they don't know how to express themselves, not only in speaking but even in writing. É uma coisa estar num McDonalds e você consegue se comunicar pra pedir seu lance, mas você não consegue [It's one thing to be in a McDonalds; you can communicate to order your sandwich, but you can't] talk about your feelings.

He later expanded on this idea in talking about his own experience negotiating this instantaneous "translation of self" process upon his return to Brazil. In his encounters with monolingual Brazilians, he noticed he would use English words or phrases automatically in conversation because they were impossible to translate. Daniel believes that the trouble comes not in finding an adequate linguistic translation for a word, but rather in the *feeling* behind the word, or in the use of that word to describe a situation in a language that such a word doesn't exist.

> Tem uma questão de palavras que não te definem e não definem o que você tá se sentindo. Não é, tipo, "saudade"—tudo mundo fala que "isso é a palavra em português

> que não tem em inglês," mas até você consegue traduzir de alguma forma o sentimento…palavra, tal vez não, mas sentimento você consegue. Mas existem alguns sentimentos que são estranhos de traduzir…Palavras assim são "boring," que eu usava muito nos Estados Unidos, e aqui só seria tipo "tedioso," e ninguém fala isso aqui. Outra é "embarrassing." Consigo usar isso muito em ingles, mas aqui, "uma situação emabaraçosa," você não fala no Brasil. Isso é muito estranho porque você tem o significado, mas não tem uma apropriação encima da palavra. [There is something about words that cannot define you, and cannot define what you are feeling. It's not like "saudade"—everyone says "this is the word in Portuguese that doesn't exist in English," but you can kind of translate the feeling in some way…maybe not the word itself, but the feeling you can translate. There are some feelings that are strange to translate, however. Words that go with this are "boring," which I used a lot in the U.S., where here it would be like [sic] "tedious," and no one says that here. Another is "embarrassing." I am able to use this a lot in English, but here [sic] "an embarrassing situation," you don't say in Brazil. This is really strange because you have the meaning, but you don't have the proper appropriation of the word].

In this part of the interview, Daniel was trying to pull together specific language to describe how his metacognition of language performance in L1 and L2 and his sense of self were intertwined. By complicating his understanding of the meaning-making needed for communicating effectively as well as authentically in different cultural contexts, Daniel was able to keep a kind of impromptu inventory of expressions that "worked" or "failed." As he took notice of instances lost in translation, he was able to reflect on where the missed meanings

occurred and invent more precise commentary about how his now bilingual-mediated communication should be interpreted by his interlocutors.

In a similar vein, Camila found it difficult to use her L1 or her L2 in certain situations in Brazil. The example she used was framed around her need to communicate effectively with her children, or with others about her children. When she lived abroad and her daughter became ill, she was concerned about not being able to understand the non-native accent of the doctor, though she felt horrible about asking for a native-speaker or Portuguese speaker, her need to comprehend surpassed her need to follow social-professional rules of antidiscrimination. In Brazil she found it difficult to negotiate which terms to use when her children had questions about human reproductive body parts. On one hand, her own mother had used the common euphemistic terminology in Portuguese with Camila and her sister, and so it felt automatic to do so with her own children. On the other hand, Camila was disturbed with how this language use fostered gender discrimination and violence against women because of how they have been used by adults pejoratively. As a way to mitigate this, she used the non-euphemistic "penis" and "vagina" in English and their equivalents in Portuguese instead the "infantilizing" terms. Camila's perception that sex and gender should be talked about "in a serious way" in the U.S. caused her to adopt this contextualized linguistic practice with her children in their bilingual interactions in spite of comments from her friends that this "is not normal." Her linguistic choices would then serve as a model for her children as they grow up in what Camila viewed as an unhealthy and sexist linguistic culture around sex in Brazil.

Making strategic decisions for language use in L1 and L2 between language contexts in L1 and L2 seemed to be a significant goal for many of the participants, even if they did not express this explicitly in their interviews. Daniel, Eduardo, Elena, Lucas, and Camila talked

about wanting to be able speak and express effortlessly without missing words or using incorrect grammar while correct or native-like pronunciation was important only for Isabela. Indeed, the interview itself became a talking point for the difficulty of negotiating which language or languages to use in a given context that required the discussion of the overlap of very different life experiences at home and abroad.

Part 3: Metacognitive Ontological Expressions and Identity Negotiation Processes

When crafting the research design, I expected the interviews themselves to become sites of metacognitive reflection about the very language they were making choices about using to describe their lives abroad and the reentry in Brazil. By analyzing the language participants used to talk about how they *thought and felt* about their identities in terms of their linguistic repertoires, we can begin to understand exactly how a language learner's relationships and rhetorical positionings in a context can inform what they believe about the negotiation of their own self-concepts about identity change in the L2 acquisition process.

Sociocultural theory, which attends to aspects of language and culture appropriation and is often overlooked by other disciplines, emphasizes not only *what* a person is doing in a specific situation – the focal point of most linguistic analyses—but also *how*, *where,* and *why* the learner acts as she does (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001). Norton and other poststructuralist and sociocultural theorists argue that addressing these more qualitative questions allows for a more inclusive, humanistic, holistic, learner-focused understanding of language learning. Because individuals must exist in social contexts, the focus of SLA research should be directed towards the 'person-in-the-world' (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and not solely the person's "intrapsychic functioning" (Vygotsky, 1978). What arose from the interviews conducted for this study were the descriptions and interpretations participants need to comment on their identities and how they changed. The

fact that this theme emerged repeatedly and across all interviews suggested a critical discussion of the meaning of language learning. Indeed, there are as many ways of talking about one's self or identity as there are selves, or even contexts in which talking about the self may arise. In line with the findings of the present study, the two most common paradigmatic frameworks, however, are understanding identity as many or multiple selves, or as having multimembership—various roles, voices, personalities, etc.—as a part of one, individual self.

The following subsection will present and analyze the language used by participants to express how they conceived of their identities throughout their L2 acquisition process, but also particularly at the moment in time the interviews were taking place during their post-sojourn reentry. Whereas much of the relevant literature (Giampapa, 2004; Kinginger, 2009; and others) refers to internal and external "factors" for identity or self-concept formation, negotiation, or definition, I propose a kind of parallel semantic labeling to capture how my participants talk about their identity formation and negotiation processes, giving special attention to the language they choose to exemplify what they believe about these negotiative acts. To simplify the terminology about such abstract metacognitive processes, I propose to use "externalization" to correspond to identity self-descriptions that are multiple, and "internalization" for self-descriptions that are singular with the possibility for multiple memberships or aspects. Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of the participants used language of both externalization and internalization during their interviews, so in some cases it is not possible to conclude which "type" they may fall under. Given the theoretical frameworks used thus far, it is not important to categorize the participants into a typology, rather, to analyze their linguistic choices within a context to better understand how they go about what Daniel would call "defining" themselves within an unstable and contested identity-negotiating environment as returnees in Brazil. Rather, "externalization"

and “internalization” are tendencies and processes of metalanguaging and self-definition of identity across linguistic modes.

Externalization. The ways participants talked about their identities as externalized concepts ranged in metaphor and most often dealt with the process of identity change or transformation. They responded to the few explicit questions about their identit(ies) in the interview only after describing their sojourn experiences in the United States from a reflective position.

Beyond the innate: Identity change as emotional and physical linguistic experience. For Fernanda, Daniel, Camila and Livia, English language learning abroad and English language use in Brazil was described as a sensory, emotional, and even physical experience. When I asked Fernanda about how her friends and family responded to her internal change upon her return home, she responded immediately by referring to herself in the third-person as a way of showing the transformation she believed she had undergone and imagined that they perceived about her:

> They [family and friends] did realize the Fernanda from before the exchange and the Fernanda that has come back is different. She is global, more open, she has new ideas, her heart has struggled with many problems that we are so accustomed to here… É sensação aranha, sabe? [it gives you goosebumps, you know?] I feel and perceive more problems than I did before when I had this new view, and I am more empathetic to people, to immigrants, to other cultures, than I was before. I want to learn so much about other cultures that I know little about…And I think they perceived I began to grow; my mind literally exploded, sensing things that I didn’t have any idea about before, about culture and identity.

After pausing, in the following part of her response to the question, she focused her language around the feelings associated with her change in identity as her "heart struggl[ing] with many problems," and perceiving physical reactions like "É sensação aranha, sabe? [it gives you goosebumps, you know?]" and "my mind literally exploded." She then envisioned her future self through the transformative skillset she has acquired, referring to herself in first-person once again at the end of her answer. Fernanda's use of the emotive terms "perceive," "sense,"and "feel," indicate that the identity change she experienced was something beyond a rationalized switch somehow disconnected from her symbolic sense of self—it was a fundamental transformation.

Livia talked about her identity change more in terms of how her emotional relationship with the language itself evolved over time. She began by describing her initial view of her L2 linguistic identity before her sojourn as negative:

> Não tive uma boa experiência emocional com o inglês, nem desenvolvi uma forma de comunicação com inglês. Escutava músicas em inglês mas não tinha interessse de entender o que a música estava dizendo. Com filmes, a mesma coisa; usava legênda…mas fiz meu curso de inglês bonitinho. [I didn't have a good emotional experience with English, and I didn't even develop a way of communicating in English. I listened to songs in English, but I wasn't interested in understanding the words. With movies, the same thing; I read subtitles…but I did everything just right in my English course.].

As a point of comparison, she talked about why she had a better emotional relationship with Hebrew as a language and linguistic identity rather than English in the monolingual context of Brazil:

> O hebráico é a lingua que a gente usa para rezar apesar do que 99% reproduz sem saber o que tá sendo dito. É uma lingua que nós arrepia. Tem uma diferencial por ser uma lingua falada pelo povo. Tem muito a ver coma religião, não tenha dúvida. [Hebrew is a language we use for prayer, even though 99% of people reproduce the words without knowing exactly what they are saying. It is a language that gives us chills. It is different because it is a language spoken by the [Jewish] people. It has a lot to do with religion, to be sure.].

English, on the other hand, "não conecta a gente com os Americanos [doesn't connect us with Americans]," Livia claimed. She references the frustration with Brazilian formal language learning contexts as the reason for this inability to "connect" to English:

> Conecta porque usamos o inglês para nos comunicar, mas não nos conecta em termos de cultura…Os professores [de inglês] não passam nenhuma importância. Quando o aluno chega na aula e o professor pergunta porque que quer aprender o inglês, como sempre fazem, e responde assim: "porque acho que vai ser bom pro trabalho," e o professor fala, "tudo bem." É só isso. Não tem nada que você vai sentir na aula que vai te mostrar que você tá tendo uma experiência que vai realmente ser boa para você no seu objetivo. [It [English] connects us [Brazilians] because we use English to communicate ourselves, but it doesn't connect us in terms of culture…The English teachers don't pass on any sense of importance. When a student comes to class and the teacher asks why he or she wants to learn English, as they always do, the student responds like this: 'because I think it will be good for work,' and the teacher says 'ok.' And that's it. There isn't anything that you will feel in class that will show you that you are having an experience that will actually be good for you and your objectives.].

Speaking from her own experience, Livia believes this only changes when a Brazilian goes to live abroad: "aí muda tudo…você começa ter uma conexão maior… [Then everything changes…you begin to have a greater connection]." In an immersive context where the English language takes on a more authentic cultural meaning, an identity transformation by way of adapting and acculturating to this context finally becomes possible.

> Mudou muito em termos de autoestima. Hoje em dia adoro o inglês...não só a lingua, mas a cultura. O prazer de ter morado lá os quatro anos veio porque foi uma experiência boa; sem isso não teria um contato com o inglês tão bom. [It [my identity] changed a lot in terms of self esteem. Now I adore English…not just the language, but the culture. The pleasure of having lived there for four years came because it was a good experience; without that, I wouldn't have had such a good relationship with English].

Livia's discussion of her emotional connection to Hebrew and eventually to English as a result of her sojourn shows that she visualizes linguistic identity as something externalized to be accessed or developed according to the right circumstances and the emotional proclivity in such a process.

In Daniel's interview, he mentions a concept he discovered as an architecture student as a way of describing the transformation of his identity living abroad as an externalizing process:

> Tem uma coisa na arquitetura chamada "apropriação de lugar"—quando você morar em um lugar, você se apropria dele. Então quando você vai no market, ou a escola e tal, daí isso faz parte do que faz uma comunidade ser forte. Quando você muda para uma outra cidade, e você mora um tempo lá de seis meses ou um ano, e você viveu naquele lugar, é o que construe querendo ou não o lugar. [There is something in architecture called "appropriation of place"—when you live in a certain place, you appropriate it. So when you go to the market, or school and the like, this becomes part of what makes a

> community strong. When you move to a different city, and you live there for a while, for six months or a year, and you really live there in that place, that is what is building that place, like it or not.].

Daniel's idea that he became a part of the places in the U.S. where he lived for extended periods of time confirms the need to transcend the boundaries of one's conceptualization of identity in relation to one's home country and oneself, and accounts for the importance of aspects of space and place—both physical and social—in the creation of and negotiation of that identity. That Daniel thinks of himself as divided between "non-negotiable" selves (Giampapa, 2004) as a gay man and as a non-white man, reveals the metaphorical distance that reflects the sociolinguistic and cultural spaces in which his identities can exist, both abroad and at home.

Daniel's metaphor of "appropriation of place" as a tool for describing his understanding of his identities also involves the acknowledgement of the role of time—the longer the sojourn, the greater the impression of the L2 context on sojourner, but also the idea that the division between negotiated selves can last a lifetime. Like Daniel, Camila also embodies multiple identities as a Jewish, multilingual/multicultural Brazilian woman. As in the case of Daniel, and some of the other participants, the multiplicity of her identity is the result of both her conscious choice as well as how the social contexts in which she lives and works in Brazil ascribe or mark her according to their preconceived ideas of her identity attributes. As we have established, both negotiational factors, self-choice and choices of others, are neither mutually exclusive nor constitutive. Because of the ways in which she began to take ownership of these identity transformations abroad and as a returnee to Brazil through her conscious expressions of English in those varying social contexts, Camila views her multiple identities as products of a lifetime of in-betweenness culturally and linguistically. Accordingly, she demonstrates her externalized

view of her bilingualism by being extremely aware of her contextualized language use in general, which became a central finding of her interview.

Separation metaphors for different selves and different self-aspects*. I have separate L2 identities.* Another analogy used by Daniel to describe his understanding of separate, externalized identities was through his idea of translation and self-translation. Toward the end of the interview he mentioned that "a lingua vem como parte de todas as outras questões do quem eu sou tambêm. [Language comes along with all the other aspects of who I am as well]." But his performance in English in particular "muda a forma como eu me vejo porque eu consigo me ver fora do que eu já to acostumado, e do que eu sempre fui acostumado. [changes the way in which I see myself because I am able to see myself outside of that which I am already accustomed to, and was always accustomed to.]." Before learning English, he always thought of himself in Portuguese, and using the linguistic frameworks of Portuguese to self-define. When switching or "adding" English into his life he was able to "me expandir, nas questões alêm do vocabulário e de escrever…A maneira como você vê o mundo muda. [expand myself, in areas beyond vocabulary and writing…The way you look at the world changes.]."

He adds that beyond the addition of new words, language enters into the realm of identity "through feelings," wherein for him, "a lingua é relacionado a um sentimento e com como eu me sinto, então eu consigo me ver e pensar em mim a partir dos sentimentos…Vão todas as experiências que já acumulei comigo mesmo…[a language is related to a feeling and with how I feel, so I am able to look at myself and think about myself through those feelings…All the experiences that I have already accumulated within myself…]. From a place of remembrance and reflection in the interview, Daniel recalled that some situations or defining thoughts he learned in English, and were only available in English; so, afterwards he had to do the work of translating

them to Portuguese. The cultural and linguistic translations of self then are “como acumulo da experiência, daí isso muda tal vez o jeito que eu me sinto [an accumulation of the experience, so this maybe changes the way that I feel],” because when you have an experience outside of the translating process and solely in one language, “that too is an experience, isn’t it?” Daniel moves back and forth between his identities in English and Portuguese by renegotiating the emotional semantics of both linguistic repertoires.

For Fernanda, she made sense of the differences in her linguistic identities through interactional and communicative emotions. In her experiences speaking English in the U.S., she talked about having the ability to be more direct and to stand up for herself in various situations. These opportunities added to her sense of self confidence, which she was eventually able to bring with her upon her return from the sojourn. From the reflective positioning during the interview she commented on the difficulty of communicating her feelings in Portuguese:

> “[In English] I made myself very clear, but with my friend, I think it would be harder to say my feelings in Portuguese…but in English, I think I have *uma camada* [a stepping stone], that I can use to step on and then express myself. I read that bilingual people sometimes use the second language to be more objective, and it’s better to deal with issues in English because you deal with them more objectively. In your native language, it’s more emotional, so I guess that’s why it’s better for me to express deeper feelings or being mad in English than in Portuguese, because it goes really deep. In English, it doesn’t feel that bad, but in Portuguese, it feels like *eu levei um soco no estômago* [I took a punch to the stomach].

Fernanda’s observations of this difficulty are not surprising because they have been echoed by many language learners and multilingual people throughout time.

The present research seeks to explore further how attitudes toward and ideologies about the languages (and the inherent perceived differences between those languages) that are used by the participants can affect the negotiation of their identities. Fernanda uses the metaphorical term of "lens" to describe how the language she applies to a context may determine how she "sees a situation," and then acts, performs, or communicates in it. When communicating in a multicultural American University classroom she felt this difference for the first time, pointing to an analogy she created: "English is like a square and Portuguese is a circle. Each shape affected how I saw the situation differently. When the professor explained something, and I began to listen, the expressions affected how I paid attention or responded to it. The language changed the lens." In another example, she referenced the context of our conversation in the interview itself: "Like right now, I am talking with you in English, mas se a gente se mudra pro português [if we move to Portuguese], it changes how the information comes to me and how I respond to it." Fernanda made a conscious choice to primarily converse in English during her interview, but she seemed to believe that changing the language of that interaction may have resulted in different content.

Accordingly, Fernanda also expressed the belief that her personality shifts with her language change: "I think in English I am more sarcastic and a little more serious too…English is more serious because of the culture, not because of the language itself, but the language is a product of the culture…" She also mentions that the way this typically is expressed between languages is in her sense of humor, in which she "applies" the markers that sound culturally appropriate to her to varying linguistic contexts: "Brazilians are more open and like to make jokes about sex…So when I speak in Portuguese, I try to put those jokes like "*só que não*" ["guess again"]. In English, I still try to make some jokes like "Ha!" and "you know, right?" and

"get it girl," but that is the stuff I learned from the culture and I try to apply it…" By stepping into different personalities through humor, Fernanda maintains this externalized conceptualization of her two linguistic identities.

My identity changed from learning English. Half of the participants of the present study acknowledged that their identity had undergone a change as a result of learning English and living in an English-speaking context. For Daniel, this was a deep, holistic change as a result of his language learning journey even before embarking on his sojourn:

> [Mudaram] todos os meus valores. Não é só a lingua que muda uma pessoa, mas ajuda muito nesse processo, porque é engraçado; quando eu falo inglês, eu sou uma otra pessoa. Quando estava no processo de aprender inglês, depois do começo mas até aqui no Brasil quando eu fui fazer o intensivo, eu estava me tornando em uma outra pessoa…[All my values changed. It's not just the language that changes a person, but it helps a lot in that process, because it's funny; when I speak English, I am another person. When I was in the process of learning English, from the beginning until when I did the intensive class in Brazil, I was already becoming a different person.].

Fernanda believed her identity shift was as a result of finally "understand[ing] the teacher and expressions like 'take your time' and 'bring home the bacon'" and other culturally-specific linguistic information she had access to in the U.S. She claimed:

> My identity changed in a way that I could relate to the people and the culture…there are so many things in American culture that are not products of TV or movies, but that are from the people and the way of life there, and I love this—this changed me because I fit into more places than I had been.

This new access to culturally-specific communication then provided a new space that she could imagine her identity "fitting into" even though she had returned to Brazil.

Unlike Daniel, Carlos claimed "as coisas que acredito, o caráter, os meus valores vão continuar. [the things I believe, my character, my values will stay the same]" even as a result of the sojourn. He views his identity change as "identification with" rather that total transformation through the acquisition of English:

> Como eu me identifico…tal vez perde o medo do mundo, percebe que você é uma pessoa flexível e adaptável. Aprender o inglês mudou a minha identidade por conta disso: de como eu vejo as coisas, expande o conhecimento; você começa respeitar as outras culturas porque você vive ele [o inglês]; porque por conta de inglês que aqueles te aproximam. [The way I identify myself…maybe you lose fear of the world, you perceive that you are a flexible, adaptable person. Learning English changed my identity in this way: by [changing] the way I see things, it expands my knowledge; you begin to respect other cultures because you live it [English]; because it's by way of English that they [other cultures] come in contact with you.

Carlos went on further to say that he didn't believe he "absorbed" a Canadian identity during or after his sojourn, but the fact that he had lived abroad and spoke the language (successfully) changed him. This ultimately connects to his idea of "identification" because "Você absorve o que você se identifica [You absorb what you identify with]." Similar to Daniel's description, Carlos comes back to the declaration that because one has lived abroad and has access to a different reality in a new language, one's identity necessarily changes. He says "A identidade muda—não somente com as coisas que você pensa ou que você faz, mas também a relação com a língua também porque você já é mais do que você foi com só a sua língua nativa.

[Your identity changes—not just in the things you think about or do, but also in relation to the language, because you have already become more than who you were only in your native language]. He goes on to quote and agree with Albert Einstein's belief that "O momento que você aprende uma coisa, seu cérebro nunca mais vai voltar no formato em que era. [The moment you learn something, your brain will never go back to the same format that it was before you learned it]." Carlos concluded the interview by lamenting that this is not a widely-held fundamental understanding about language learning. Though he separates the idea of values and beliefs from the realm of potential identity change, he acknowledges that change does occur as a result of the learning process in formal and informal language learning environments or contexts of use.

Aline takes Carlos's claim further by asserting that she is the "same person" even as a result of her sojourn:

> Acho que sou a mesma pessoa; não incorporo nada—só muda um *click* para a outra lingua. Meus pensamentos continuam os mesmos, as minhas ideias e atitudes…a única coisa é que você raciocina em inglês para poder falar inglês, e eu tambêm raciocino rápido, então eu não me demoro muito pra elaborar o que eu to falando…mais com que a minha personalidade. [I think I am the same person; I don't embody anything—there's just a little *click* to switch to the other language. My thoughts are the same; so are my ideas and atittudes… the only thing is that you have to reason in English to be able to speak English, and I reason quickly, so I don't take too much time to elaborate what I am saying…more so than with my personality].

Shortly after she follows this observation by saying that her extended time abroad was the cause of her ability to switch between languages fluidly: "Esta experiência fora do Brasil me ajudou

muito com esse…*switch on and off* automático. Porque na realidade, isso existe [This experience outside Brazil helped I lot with this…automatic on and off switch. Because in reality, this does exist].” But she says that regardless of the circumstance, she would still “be herself” in either language in the same ways. In this sense her identity change is only partly a result of the process, and her self-concept as a bilingual person is only externalized insofar that she believes she needs to actually make a switch.

In language similar to Carlos, Isabela viewed her identity change as a “change of perception” more than transformation of the whole self:

> Agora eu tenho uma percepção diferente. Agora eu tenho uma carga a mais para levar, porque poxa, eu já conheci outras pessoas de outros países lá que eu nunca teria contacto [no Brasil], e isso já é uma carga que eu vou levar pela vida. [Now I have a different perception. Now I have another weight to carry, because gosh, I have met so many people from other countries there [abroad] that I would never have had contact with [in Brazil], and this is now a weight I will have to carry with me for the rest of my life].

Isabela’s understanding of her identity changed because she was aware of what her experience meant for her, and likely (at the time of the interview), what it meant to others who had not received such an opportunity back in Brazil, as she referenced at different points in the interview. The knowledge and memory of what her sojourn experience meant surpassed time and space and became a permanent feature of her identity as “another weight to carry.” Her metaphor of identity change also follows those of Carlos and Aline because it does not express acculturation to the L2 imagined identity within the L1 context, but rather indicates the impossibility of returning to the L1 self fully after the sojourn.

Internalization. Whereas the participants above used externalized descriptions of their identities or identity negotiation processes between selves or aspects of selves, others used language of internalization and integration to describe their identity. As mentioned before, some participants used both identity defining language processes, and so they may reappear in the following subsection. While Camila, Daniel and Fernanda emphasized difference between identities and characterized themselves as having multiple identities, they also used language that would correspond to a singular multifaceted or intersectional identity. For Livia, Elena, and Camila, this entered into their interviews as they characterized themselves as members of Jewish Diaspora—second or third generation Jewish immigrants to Brazil. For Daniel and Fernanda, this intersectionality was discussed through their memberships in different communities (LGBTQ+ and Brazilian Baptist, respectively), but also because of their experience as non-white individuals who necessarily negotiate their identities in more complicated ways due to social organization around race.

Integration metaphors for different identity factors merging into one self. *My L2 does not change me, it adds to me: Aline, Daniel and Carlos.* As examined in Carlos and Aline's responses above, both participants viewed their identities not as changing or transforming fundamentally, but rather the experiences abroad or learning English as "adding" to their indentities. We can see in Aline's careful choice of language when responding to whether her participation in English cultural products and contexts had an effect on her identity:

> Não acho que muda a minha identidade. Acho que soma a minha identidade. Em que sentido? …Eu escuto muita música em inglês, gosto de ver filmes em inglês, ler artigos em inglês ou conversar com pessoas, mas, a grande realidade é que não acho que isso mude a minha personalidade; isso vem somar a minha personalidade naturalmente. [I

> don't think it changes my identity. I think it adds to my identity. How? I listen to a lot of music in English, I like to watch movies in English, read articles in English or talk with people, but the actual reality is that I don't think this changes my personality; this happens to add to my personality naturally].

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Aline begins to overlap the meanings of "identity" and "personality," particularly in respect to activities in English that she participates in, connecting to what it means that she likes or dislikes certain examples of those cultural products. Though Daniel favors a more externalized conceptualization of his identities, he also uses this "additive" metaphor to answer the identity-related questions when he claims that "a lingua vem como parte de todas as outras questões do que meu sou também. [Language as a part of all the other aspects of who I am as well]." This metaphor for language acquisition and bilingualism is widespread in the SLA literature, both from a cognitive as well as a sociocultural and postructuralist perspective.

Identity change is an internal process that starts inside: Aline, Camila Isabela, Eduardo, and Carlos. A second observation made by several participants was that their identity "change"—if "change" at all—occurred internally and was not mediated by their relationships with, connections to, or interactions among others at home or abroad. When I asked Aline about whether she believed other Brazilians noticed changes within her upon return from her sojourns, she replied that they did only because she appeared to be a more mature, experienced version of herself, and not "specifically because of the language." She believed the identity changes effected by the language learning occurred "comigo mesmo," or from within herself. Aline continued describing this internal identity-forming process as follows:

> Isso me fez ficar mais segura comigo mesma, até em termos internos, e na língua memsa também: de saber que a palavra não vai te faltar, que sabe os tempos de verbo, e que sabe

> que tá falando correto. Claro que me faltava as vezes uma palavra e falar errado, mas ainda assim, ficando fora, cresce e passa por um processo interno que realmente as pessoas acabam te olhando de outra forma e você muda mesmo. [This made me feel more secure with myself, even in internal terms, and in my language [ability] too: seeing that you aren't going to miss a word, knowing the verb tenses, and knowing you are speaking correctly. Of course, sometimes I did forget a word or said something wrong, but even so, [by] going abroad, you grow and go through an internal process, through which people actually see you in a different way and you do change.].

At the same time, Aline goes on to conclude that by learning new things about the world, "you see things differently, and eventually you bring that back [home] when you return." She adds that "if you yourself see yourself differently than before you left, others back home will also sense this change" in your language ability, but especially in "your position in the world." These are externalizing descriptions, but they are linked to her idea that whoever has the opportunity to live abroad in an English-speaking context will have an irrevocable "deepening" of linguistic and personal experience. Aline claims that: "da um aprofundamento na língua e no aprendizado que nunca mais você tira e ninguêm tira de você. Ficou, solidificou dentro de você e ninguêm te arranca isso mais. Isso você usa pra vida toda. [it gives a deepening in the language and learning that can never been taken away from you by anyone. It stayed, solidified inside you and no one can yank it out of you. You use this for the rest of your life]." Aline's metaphor of "yanking" the new identity state out of the sojourner is similar to Camila's "I would have to shake it really hard to get rid of it."

As long-time multilingual speakers who have spent most of their lives understanding English as a given aspect of their identities, linguistically and otherwise, it makes sense that they

would use such language to conceptualize of their identity negotiations. Isabela, Eduardo, and Carlos echo the assertions made by Camila and Aline that the experience abroad was more instrumental in identity change than the act of language learning. All five participants acknowledge that some kind of identity change occurred, but that it was somehow additive to their pre-sojourn identity.

My identity negotiation is a subconscious process that I don't have control over. A third understanding about identity negotiation processes shared by multiple participants was the reality that identity change is difficult to perceive, measure, and know. Eduardo, Camila, Elena, and Livia all mentioned at different points in their interviews that they were unsure of whether and how their identities had changed for varying reasons. Aline and Camila believed their identities remained the same even after having lived in Brazil again for more than one year because of their lifetimes of bilingual experience as being central to identity. Because Camila lived abroad for a longer and more recent (at the time of the interview) period than Aline, she was still struggling to negotiate her identity in Brazil in a variety of contexts. This was an underlying theme in Camila's interview. In Aline's language learning identity narrative, she did not highlight specific breakthroughs, struggles, or reflective moments of pause in terms of identity change. Instead, shee emphasized her longterm journey with using English in Brazil (as many years had passed since her sojourn). Aline believed it was literally "a part of me" but not "determinant of how I am and how I think."

Like Aline, Eduardo was also unsure of how his identity changed because he viewed his bilingualism and "natural" affinity through his extensive personal relationships with native speakers of English. When I asked what it would mean for his identity if he spoke like a native speaker of American English, he responded:

> I don't think I would lose it [identity], but I would feel more American. But the identity is really who you are...it would change you for sure, but it wouldn't change your ideas, attitude, and style...I guess this could change because of the language, but maybe it's because you need to work in some place, and you start to like these new things...you even say here [in the glossary] that identity are the characteristics that determine your value, so I don't know if I will change my values if I change my language...I can change a lot of things...but my values remain...I'm not going to do something that I think is wrong…

Based on this response, we can observe three possible interpretations: (1) identities are singular, (2) identities can be replaced, and (3) there are separate "identity characteristics" that are not necessarily equivalent to "an identity," but may constitute one, particularly within a given context. Both Eduardo and Aline noted at different points in their interviews that these core characteristics were independent of their conceptualization of what their identity is.

Two participants emphasized the importance of having sufficiently extensive sojourn experiences in order to perceive some kind of conscious identity change. Lucas and Isabela shared that they were unable to observe in themselves whether and how their identities had changed as a result of their sojourns because they did not believe their sojourns (6 months in both cases) to be long enough to be transformative for them personally. Lucas compared his experience studying for a semester at a university in California to a different sojourn he went on later to Israel, believing that his one year spent in the latter had a greater impact on the connection between his language ability and identity. "Realmente fez muito diferença em mim no final; daí eu senti mais conectado com as pessoas e a minha familia…entendi mais do q tava acontecendo, etc. [It really made a big difference in the end; I felt more connected to people and to my family…I understood what was going on better, etc.]." Isabela described this as the

impossibility of her belonging to the L2 culture/community: “Não importa quanto tempo fiquei lá; eu sempre senti como uma brasileira nos Estados Unidos…nunca vamos pertencer naqueles lugares, por mais confortável que a gente esteja. [It doesn’t matter how long I lived there; I always felt like a Brazilian in the U.S…we will never belong to those places, no matter how comfortable we may be.” Isabela was also the most recent returnee at six months back in Brazil, which also may have been a factor in her ability to view her experience with critical distance.

Maintaining one authentic self is a conscious effort. The last internalizing metaphor for describing identities that appeared in the interviews pertained to the conscious effort to maintain a single, authentic self in both the sojourn and post-sojourn context. For Eduardo, this appeared in his reflection about his accent in English in thinking about acculturating if he should live abroad in the future. Referencing the quote in the previous paragraph (p. 28), his concern was whether he (and other Brazilian immigrants) would lose his identity through ways of speaking:

> I think Brazilians don’t care so much about the accent because they like being Brazilians…so if you lose your accent, you lose your identity. I want to say everything right, but I don’t want to lose my accent. I don’t want them to think or wonder if I am American, because I think this is going to be too much for me.

In order to counter what could potentially become an inevitable shift that mimics the replacement of a Brazilian identity with an American one, he purposefully preserves L1 phonological markers as a way of maintaining his Brazilian-ness to Americans and Brazilians alike. Given the culture of linguistic shaming in both contexts, this choice has different consequences based on his interlocutors.

While reflecting on his sojourn, Lucas realized that the relationships he established abroad were rather superficial and short-lived: “Não foram relacionamentos assim q eu diria q

eram da vida inteira nem nada. [They weren't relationships that I would say are life-long or anything." And although he maintained some contact with his British roommate through two reciprocal visits, he admitted they were no longer in touch. When asked about what was limiting in his sojourn experience in terms of developing relationships, he observed the following:

> Não sei se era porque o tempo lá foi curto, ou porque eu tô acostumado com os meus amigos daquí, o se eu to acostumado com o jeito brasileiro de se relacionar, q é muito diferente do resto do mundo…então é tudo isso acho; uma mistura...são vários fatores. [I don't know if it was because my time there was so short, or because I'm used to my friends here, or if I'm just used to the Brazilian way of relating, which is very different from the rest of the world…I think it's all of these; a mixture of various factors].

In Lucas's case, the social need and desire to reintegrate into his Brazilian life could have been a determining factor in how Lucas consciously or unconsciously negotiated his identity abroad, and then based on that negotiation, how he re-entered at the end of his sojourn. His perspective is important to this study because not all sojourners will undergo deep identity changes even after an extended period of life in another linguistic and cultural context. In fact, Lucas's ambivalence about what he thinks it means for his identity that he speaks English confirms the previously discussed findings that pose English as a contested language in Brazil not only for those who have not had the opportunity to leave the country, but for those who have received the opportunity and returned home with greater refocusing on narratives of home than on those of identity negotiation in another culture.

Externalization and internalization within the literature. As stated before, work in identity and language theory does not use the terms of "externalization" and "internalization." I have proposed these to describe the processes of identity change or influence language learners

talk about. However, similar metaphors and semantic mappings do exist in sociolinguistics and intercultural communication research that can help make sense out of the findings as they relate to my research questions.

Elena Hoffman's seminal memoir, *Lost in Translation* (1989), focuses specifically on the process of creating language around how language itself shapes identity change. As a post-war Jewish Polish immigrant to Canada, Hoffman charts this process in phases ranging from loss to recovery/(re)construction. The initial phase of loss is segmented into five stages: loss of one's linguistic identity (careless baptism, according to Hoffman, 1989), loss of all subjectivities, loss of the frame of reference and the link between the signifier and the signified, loss of the inner voice, and first language attrition (as cited in Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). The phase of recovery and (re)construction encompasses four critical phases: appropriation of others' voices, emergence of one's own new voice, often in writing first, translation therapy and reconstruction of one's past, and continuous growth "into" new positions and subjectivities (as cited in Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). As Hoffman navigates her L1 and L2 language use in new contexts, she develops profound understandings about what it means to use these linguistic repertoires in those contexts, and how the negotiation process is at once engaging and polarizing.

As an auto-ethnographic exercise, she explores these strategies as ways of conceiving of the sociocultural forces that control her ability to find language to name them. By viewing her identities as going through these processes of loss and (re)construction, she externalizes her understanding of how those identities are formed in "relationships of time, distance, and power" as Norton suggests. From this frame, we can observe that the participants of the present study described their identity reconstruction process more than that of loss. Perhaps this is due to the nature of the questions and research design of the study that emphasizes "imagined identities"

and “imagined communities.” It also may be due to the fact that the participants are still attempting to work out what the loss of their L2 identity may mean in the post-sojourn context.

Mercer (2011) attempts to define what she calls the language learner “self-concept” by comparing relevant authors in the field of identity and language learning. She cites Markus and Wurf’s “dynamic self-concept” (1987) which poses that some beliefs are “core” self-conceptions and others are more “peripheral,” creating “a continually active, shifting array of self-knowledge” in which there is no “fixed or static self” but only a current self-concept constructed from one’s interactions (2011, p. 75). Similarly, Mercer cites Onorato and Turner (2004, p. 260) view of the self-concept as a more fluid, situated construct which “is conceived as a context-dependent cognitive representation.” They also argue that self-concept “should not be equated with enduring personality structure because the self is not always experienced in terms of personality or individual differences,” but rather in social situatedness in particular contexts (as cited in Mercer, 2011, p. 76). Mercer also notes that self-concepts are susceptible to change that can occur with cognitive development as people age, becoming increasingly multidimensional and more complex. Mercer points to Marsh and Ayotte’s “differential distinctiveness hypothesis” (2003), in which with age, the closely linked areas of self-concept become more integrated with each other and, at the same time, disparate areas of self-concept become increasingly differentiated (as cited in Mercer, 2011, p. 79).

In the same way that the “externalizing” metacognitive ontological processes of identity conceptualization are related to Hoffman’s stages and processes through which identity “goes,” the conceptualizations of identity as “dynamic,” “context-dependent,” and “increasingly integrated or differentiated over time” can be linked to the internalized metacognitive ontological descriptions presented in the previous sub-section. For example, Aline discusses her identity in

terms of the "differential distinctiveness hypothesis" in that aspects of her identity have become "more a part of her or more distanced from her over time." By logical extension then, for Camila, Aline, Eduardo, and several other participants who think of themselves and act in the world as bilinguals, their bilingual self-concept as holding both linguistic identities simultaneously has and will only increase even though they have returned to the L1 context.

Participants were also able to isolate particular aspects or conceptualizations about their "core" and "peripheral" self-conceptions, as Carlos describes in his comments about the difference between "values" and "identification with" an identity. In terms of Norton's concept of language learner identity, and imagined identities and communities, both externalizing and internalizing descriptions of identity change and conceptualization are simultaneously possible. This is because language helps to form the semantic understanding of what an identity is, and identities can also move to shape the language a person may use to describe what they believe their identity to be.

Part 4: A New Critical Understanding: Participant Conclusions about Observed Impacts on Identity Post-Sojourn in Brazil

Effects of English language performance post-sojourn. At the end of most of the interviews, I asked participants what they thought of their language performance in both L1 and L2 after having returned to their home context. Different participants contended that they interacted with and in English to varying degrees, despite the commonly held desire to "do more" in their L2. For Aline, Eduardo, and Daniel, language use, specifically L2 use, goes along with other factors of identity change. Aline described this as her growing maturity, Eduardo talked about his through the evolving relationships with native English speakers and the likelihood of him immigrating to the U.S., while Daniel linked it to his participation in the global

LGBTQ+ community. For Eduardo, Aline, and Camila, speaking in English is “natural” and “normal” and is a part of their daily “self-expression” and language performance. This included comfortably speaking in English with other Brazilians and non-Brazilians (in Brazil) as well as codeswitching. Eduardo and Camila mentioned that this kind of language performance with one foot in English and another in Portuguese was more important to them than accommodating to others by speaking Portuguese only or potentially saving face by using the Portuguese pronunciation of English loan words in certain situations.

Elena, Aline, and Eduardo maintained that they believe they still “speak [English] above average” and that keeping their L1 accents in English was acceptable and impossible to change. Unlike many other studies on identity and language, none of the participants of the present study talked about accent shame in their experiences abroad where they may have encountered negative interactions with xenophobic native speakers. This reality may be coincidental, but may also be connected to Eduardo’s insight that “Brazilians abroad want others to know they are Brazilian,” and seek to differentiate themselves from other Latin Americans when living abroad. This reality may also be connected to the nature of English language teaching in Brazil, which as discussed above, has been shown to give little prioritization to communicative or intercultural competence, and is often taught by instructors who have never had the opportunity to go abroad in the first place. Where accent shame did emerge was present in Fernanda and Elena’s mentioning of being teased for using American English pronunciations for English loan words in BP that have otherwise been accepted into the lexicon with BP phonological rules. Most participants noted that their current L2 language performance was either the demonstration of their mastery of insider language knowledge and intercultural communicative knowledge in

formal and informal settings, such as in the work place, or in maintaining close relationships with others in English from a distance. As Fernanda aptly notes:

> I can see the same situation using the lens of a Portuguese speaker and an English speaker, because my language is not related to grammar or books but it's related to the future. I have this deep inside of me. Even if I emulate an accent in Portuguese, I understand the future of the place to reach the situation to talk about it in that kind of way. In English, I understand the American culture a little bit and this is empowering. I have not just the language, but the culture around the language.

Now back in Brazil, she is able to use this information and ability to make translingual choices determine what and how her own future will look.

Portuguese limits and English opens my goals for identity performance. One of the most interesting findings of the present study was in discovering the different language and culture ideologies held by the participants as an additional layer of identity data. Aline, Carlos, Eduardo, Fernanda, Camila, and Isabela all reported that from living abroad and upon return they held the belief that many or most Brazilians have warped or incomplete understandings of the world and of Brazil. They expressed frustration at Brazil's inability to engage with global issues (Camila) or in global markets (Carlos), but also that its people did not give the right kind of value to its positive contributions to the world (Isabela). This frustration carries over into how the participants attempted to interact with other Brazilians who did not have the opportunity to live, study, or travel abroad, in essence, making certain conversations in Portuguese cumbersome.

Camila talks about this specifically in relation to a discussion she had with her children back home in Brazil in which she attempted to teach them that gender expression and sexual

orientation are on a spectrum rather than binary. She found herself talking about the different body parts in public and observing an older man nearby scowl at her. During the interview she reflected, “even when I tell my kids’ friend’s parents that we talk about this [gender and sexuality] openly, they are like ‘oh, it’s because you lived there, because you think it’s normal, oh, this is not normal’ but I think it is absolutely normal.” When watching how her children responded to her discussion without question or resistance, she concluded that the other Brazilians perpetuate issues of gender and sexual injustice precisely because they “talk about it in a very pejorative, infantilized way.” Whereas sexual humor is a standard fixture of Brazilian socializing, Camila noted that her experience of receiving backlash to her attempts at righting such problematic language use caused her to never laugh at sexual jokes again, even when made by close friends.

Along similar lines, several participants either directly discussed or alluded to the limiting factors of being a monolingual speaker of Portuguese at different points in the interviews. While many of these appeared in lamentations about being part of a developing country, which they perceive as being in isolation from the rest of the world, in terms of identity performance they focused on how English created space and possibility where Portuguese could not. Daniel mentions that discussing his intersectional identity “is not so hard” and that discussing it in English “helps because it is in a universal language,” and could potentially be discussed with others from similar situations. He states that even if one is gay or a person of color, “we don’t talk about it a lot here in Brazil.” Whereas he sees America as a “free country, [in which] …you can at least talk about whatever you want.” Daniel concludes that in different ways than in Portuguese, English allowed him to understand himself: “English was good for me

because I could communicate with others and talk about that and even understand myself and my position as a social person and a political person…and understand a little bit more of who I am."

Elena, Isabela and Carlos maintained that this advantage came in the form of elevated social and professional status upon return to Brazil. For Elena, this was in receiving greater respect and admiration: "Acho que você ganha mais respeito quando você fala um inglês melhor. As pessoas meio admiram o que a gente faz para as crianças em estimular eles em inglês. [I think you gain more respect when you speak English well. People kind of admire what we did for our children by stimulating their English.]." Isabela took this further by claiming she felt "deified" by others upon her return; noting that the reason for this is Brazilian culture more than her personal connection to others:

> É a nossa cultura—endeusar…a gente imita, a gente segue os passos, mas totalmente errados porque eu nunca na vida vi um Americano que vai pagar mil dólares num tênis…tipo classe media, não vai, mas aqui tem gente que paga…não teve um momento, foi um sentimento que quando cheguei, tudo mundo queria sair comigo, sabe?…Sou muito sociável, mas eu não tenho muitos amigos, aí foi que eu senti endeusada, e tem a parte boa e a parte ruim né, em que o endeusamento causa inveja né. [It's our culture—to deify…we imitate, we follow the steps, but totally wrong because I've never seen an American that is going to pay a thousand dollars for a pair of tennis shoes…like a middle class person; they're not going to. But here we have people who pay…There was no one moment, but it was feeling that when I arrived, everybody wanted to go out with me, you know? I am very social, but I don't have a lot of friends, so that's why I felt deified…and there's the good part and the bad, right, in which deification causes envy.].

Isabela's surprise at her friend's reception of her return to Brazil and several other participants' descriptions (Eduardo and Fernanda) indicate the belief that Brazilians who don't live abroad have misconceptions about the ease of living abroad as well as what it means to have lived abroad and returned home.

Carlos took a more neutral position in describing that he perceived he gained greater professional value from higher-ranking members in his area because they believed they may be the beneficiaries of his experience in the future:

> Profissionalmente houve uma valorização de diretores, ou na faculdade aonde eu dou aula, ou na produtora da tv. As pessoas comentam e falam, "conta essa historia que você viajou." Então, alguém vai usar isso como uma vantagem para fortalecer o equipe e poder falar "tem um professional que viajou e morou lá um ano." Então [você] usa isso como um selo de qualidade. [Professionally, I was more valued by directors or at the university where I teach, or at the TV production company. People comment and say, "tell that story about when you traveled abroad." So, someone is going to use that as an advantage to strengthen the team and be able to say "there is a professional here who travelled and lived abroad for one year." So you use that as a seal of quality.].

And so by learning English, he had access to important knowledge, resources, and opportunities otherwise unavailable in both L1 and L2 contexts. The equivalency of access to what is available outside Brazil as access to "what is better," also appeared in several other participant narratives. For Elena, Carlos, Fernanda, and Aline, learning English afforded them with access to "objectivity" or "objective information" and future progress or development both in domestic and global professional pursuits. These four participants also claimed that this access to and ownership of new knowledge gained through knowledge is empowering and humbling.

English as a space for difficult discussions not possible in Brazil. In reaction to the inability to solve certain Brazilian problems in spaces of discourse that are limited to Brazilian Portuguese, Fernanda and Daniel proposed English, or at least the conversations they encountered for the first time in English as a new mode for critical problem-solving of issues at home. Fernanda talked about cultural sharing with others as a special kind of "new knowledge" and was not only meaningful to her but also responsible for "opening" her and affecting how she experienced diversity in new ways.

The idea that learning English allows for the possibility of a "critical understanding of self" was mentioned by both Camila and Fernanda at different points in the interview. Camila frames this as the privilege of growing up as a simultaneous bilingual without having to "make all the effort of learning a language when you are older; it just comes naturally to me," she recognizes "all this facility, fluency and experience; I have an advantage and I am privileged." When responding to my question of whether her family and friends noticed a change upon her return to Brazil, Fernanda also acknowledged her privilege but focused more on specific communicative competence that the exchange experience, involving extensive English language usage eventually has led to her rethinking her role(s) in Brazil:

> I define myself as a Brazilian understanding the root problems that we have here, and the problems that I have in my family that I found by studying my genealogy and understanding how I was created...and giving feedback and being more critical...I don't know if it bothers them that I'm from here but not just here, and that I am critical about what we have here…I definitely came back more mature because before I left I saw myself as a 20 year old girl…when I came back, I look at myself as a woman…and a woman that perceives gender gaps, racial gaps, financial gaps…the experience raised me,

> and I am still finding new perspectives that I have even after three years. I am still learning and still critical.

For Daniel, the "universal" nature of English opens a space for critical discourse on race specifically:

> Eu nunca tinha percebido ou senti isso [racismo] diretamente aqui no Brasil. Existe, mas é um racismo um pouco velado ainda. As coisas acontecem mas nåo são tão diretas. Isso foi uma coisa tão chocante pra mim, que me fez abrir os olhos pra uma coisa—o racism—que eu nunca tinha prestado atenção…a gente tem um racismo estrutural… depois eu aprendi isso…os negros não conseguem empregos muito bons, não são professors de universidades, mas ninguém fala sobre isso direito. Agora a gente ta começando falar disso principalmente a cause dos EUA, essa tema de discurso surgiu, e é legal que tá trazendo isso. Mas isso tambem é outra coisa; pra eu entender que por mais que tenho a pele um pouco mais clara, sendo um negro de pele clara, isso tambem é outro jeito que eu posso me reconhecer, e você vai se reconhecendo. [I had never perceived or felt that [racism] directly here in Brazil. It exists, but it's a veiled racism still. Some things happen, but they are not so direct. This was what was so shocking for me, what made me open my eyes to something—racism—which I had never paid much attention to…we have structural racism…only later did I learn that…Black people can't get good jobs, they aren't professors at universities, but nobody says that out loud. Now we are starting to talk about it, mostly because of the U.S., where that topic emerged, and it's cool that it's developing this. But that is another thing; for as much as I can understand that I have *light* skin, a black guy with light skin, this also is another way to recognize myself, and you begin to do so.].

In these areas, for the participants, having to use L2 becomes more than just improving communicative competence—it is a mode to discuss a range of subjects, many that cannot be discussed in the L1 or the L1 context. This more complex and increased critical understanding of Brazil and the world is important for future actions and identity processes of all the participants, but especially for those who will enter fields of work and communities that potentially stand to benefit the most from global knowledge.

Resulting feelings from post-sojourn experience.

Declarations: self-realization from L2 acquisition process. Based upon the responses to the interview questions, we can determine that many of the participants experienced some kind of self-realization from the L2 acquisition process both abroad and in Brazil. This can be seen in the sense of personal growth (Aline, Livia, Fernanda) and awareness in terms of cultural and linguistic expression (Fernanda, Eduardo, Daniel). Ultimately, the practice of performing a multilingual identity in different contexts allowed Daniel, Eduardo, Fernanda, Camila, and Aline to feel more at home in themselves. Being playful with language helped Fernanda to cross borders of her identity, while English was fundamental in Daniel's more complicated understanding of self as a gay man of color. Most participants talked about their connection or access to an L2 imagined community through participation in L2-based cultural products, activities, or institutions. For Eduardo and Daniel, performing themselves through a specific L2 cultural product or activity was an important defining factor of their identity. For Lucas and Livia, participating in such L2 capacities was not determinant of their identity, but for Livia, her sojourn experience in her L2 did result in a self-realization process. Isabela, Daniel, Carlos, Eduardo, Elena, Livia, Fernanda, and Camila also mentioned these functions as an escape from the limitations of a Brazilian reality which is divorced from their more global outlooks.

Continuing negotiations: Who am I now, and where do I stand? Looking at the final reflections on their post-sojourn situatedness or positioning in Brazil reveals an array of conclusions between participants. Isabela, Daniel, and Fernanda talk about how they felt they had changed while those at home remained the same. Daniel talked about a sense of reverse homesickness, in which he longed to revisit places he had lived abroad. Eduardo, Elena, and Camila discussed their feelings of homelessness or between-ness because of their desire to return to their lives abroad. Fernanda and Camila framed this "inbetweenness" as a positive trait because rather than feeling they belonged in neither, they commented on feeling as if they belonged to *many* places. For the majority of participants, they admitted they accepted the feeling of not belonging in either place, but through various frames. For Camila, Aline, Elena, Isabela, Eduardo, and Fernanda, it was because they felt like outsiders in Brazil after the depth and length of their experiences abroad. For Livia, Isabela, Eduardo, Daniel, and Lucas, they claimed they never felt fully integrated into the L2 community during and after the sojourn experience. Isabela, Eduardo, Camila, and Elena expressed higher degrees of ambivalence in saying, "what will be will be," "let people think what they want," and "I don't care how they'll react" when encountering negative reactions to their identity change or L2 performance in Brazilian circles. Elena, Eduardo, Daniel, Isabela, and Fernanda also noted that they accepted their new social status as travelers or points of reference to future sojourners upon returning home to Brazil.

Self-reported acquired identity traits from post-L2 learning and sojourn. Most participants reported some kind of acquired characteristic or skill as a result of their sojourn experiences in L2 communities. Some of these internal traits that occurred from within the self included the following: a sense of maturity (Fernanda, Aline), self-acceptance and losing the fear

to err (Camila, Aline, Elena, Eduardo, Fernanda), as sense of pride and confidence for communicating effectively (Aline, Elena, Lucas, Livia, Eduardo, Fernanda, Carlos). Though Daniel, Carlos, Camila, and Aline all reported having positive associations with English from the beginning of their study, Isabela, Daniel, Eduardo, Livia reported the ability to overcome negative associations (frustration and boredom) with English or learning English at the beginning of their study evolved over time. The ability to overcome various challenges, either interpersonally, professionally, politically, or socioeconomically was a common thread in the participants' reflections on their post-sojourn perspective. In regard to skills positioned toward others, the participants reported the following: a sense of privilege and gratitude (Daniel, Livia, Camila, Carlos, Fernanda) and increased empathy for immigrants, fellow language learners, as well as Brazilians (Camila, Isabela, Daniel, Eduardo, Aline).

Identity Reorientation and Reconstruction of Sojourners in their Home Context

Few to none of the studies on Norton's constructs of identity and investment focus on "the return" or "reentry" of their subjects. The present thesis attempts to examine these realities by following the evolution of how ten English learner L2 identities have adapted to and negotiated the three major contextual phases of SLA in formal and informal contexts: in the home country, in the target language community, and in the home country after the sojourn abroad. The relevant examples of research in the intersection of SLA, study abroad education, and intercultural communication provide some insights into how this context can affect the reorientation and reconstruction of identities within the "return" context, and I will compare these to related findings about identity negotiation of Brazilian ELLs according to Norton's constructs (and related constructs) in the L2 and pre-sojourn L1 contexts.

Bourdieu (1977) theorized that various forms of "capital" can be accumulated, invested, exchanged, exercised and converted into other forms. These include cultural capital (cultural products, services, educational credentials, ways of dress, etc.), symbolic capital (legitimation), social capital (acquaintances, networks), economic capital (money, property), linguistic capital (language proficiency), among others. Other scholars familiar with this terminology have extrapolated new kinds of capital applicable to emerging types of sociocultural interactions and situations. These forms of capital are inherently linked to Norton's (2001) concept of investment because the learner's understanding of the capital gained by using a given language can determine their investment in learning and using it in various contexts. The strategies that language learners, and in this case sojourning language learners, use to negotiate their identities between these contexts are then inextricably tied to changing understandings of capital. The ways that sojourners think about these strategies and how they are perceived by others further complete the picture of what cultural, social, symbolic, etc. capital mean in different contexts. In other words, language ideologies, language learning ideologies, strategies of identity negotiation, and ways of thinking about said strategies all relate back to the types of capital a certain form of language can afford the language user within a certain context.

I will compare some of the strategies and metacognitive processes in the findings of the current study to the relevant literature, as well as propose new types of capital developed and acquired by all ten participants as described in their identity negotiation narratives.

Imagined identities/communities, language ideologies, and language learning ideologies. Similar to Longaray's studies (2005, 2009), the participants of the present research discussed having different levels of investment in learning English—and also that they observed resistance towards English in and outside of the language classroom in Brazil. This thesis also

confirms Silva (2013) and Gil and Oliveira's (2014) studies about the relationship between imagined identities in English and the learners' investments as codependent and influenced by factors of symbolic capital. The results of the present research also align with many of Carrazzai's (2013) findings. Both studies highlight the importance of family influence on the participants' learning of English whether through exposure, extrinsic motivation, or providing access. The participants of the present study also emphasized the greater meaningfulness of their L2 learning and acquisition in informal contexts rather than educational or professional contexts, as was reported in Carazzai (2013), Shahri (2018), and Norton (2001). The present study expanded on Carazzai's findings that Brazilian ELLs formed imagined communities around virtual (internet) partners and people with more power, experience, knowledge and/or status, and who respect and value diversity.

The participants of the present study talked about the way these relationships changed between contexts—from the presojourn, the abroad experience, and the reentry—according to what they perceived as power differentials. The participants of the present study also used similar strategies to negotiate their L2 identities in English in Brazil as those of Carazzai's, both pre and post-sojourn. These included curating spaces of L2 practice, using English to expand their professional networks/mobility, and rethinking the meaning of diversity and access to the outside world. Carazzai's single participant that learned English from an early age and had travelled abroad communicated similar frustrations about his reentry experience as Camila and others in the present study. The participants in the present study also echoed the desire to connect with others in the world using the English language while acknowledging the difficulty of doing so within the home context, as in Carazzai (2013).

Between imagination and reality—changing perceptions of cultural and symbolic capital and the identity strategies that accompany them. As in Kinginger's (2004) research about the study abroad student, Alice, the present study's participants also had complex and multifaceted self-concepts that were challenged throughout their language learning journeys through time and space. Whereas Alice's identity negotiation stems from the comprehensive nature of Alice's goal in learning French "to upgrade her access to cultural capital, become a cultured person, and share her knowledge with others" (2002, p. 240), the participants of the present study discussed a range of different types of relationships between their idea of and investment in the L2. Though Alice began her study of French because of her belief in its prestige value, or in the terminology of Bourdieu (1980), "symbolic capital," the Brazilian ELLs did not mention this as the primary reason they began to learn English, though they admitted English is seen as "the most valued" and "most common" FL in Brazil. Also, unlike Alice, most of the participants' narratives did not focus on negative experiences abroad in formal or informal contexts. Moments similar to those for Alice did occur—such as Lillian's difficulty with being corrected by children at the daycare center, for Daniel and Fernanda, being racialized and sexualized in uncomfortable ways, and for Elena and Lucas, understanding and keeping up with their university work in a different language and academic culture—however these were not the defining experierences of their sojourns or language learning stories.

Mendoza's (2015) findings that ELL sojourners use personal intellectual resources to gain access to and navigate their imagined communities also correspond to the present study. Like Mendoza's participants, Carlos, Camila, Fernanda, and others demonstrated their expertise in a particular field to gain entrance to international professional communities and "scaffold the learning of English for specific purposes" (Mendoza, 2015, p. 11). Both the findings of Mendoza

(2015) and Kinginger (2004) confirm the present findings of the importance of the symbolic capital communicated through using the second language beyond a solely communicative purpose—which in this case also constituted acts demonstrating cultural and social capital at home and abroad by building or maintaining relationships in the L2 or using the L2 to do globally-oriented or globally-motivated advocacy work in Brazil.

As populations begin to cross physical and metaphorical borders more frequently as a result of globalization, new identity experiences, which lead to new understandings of cultural and symbolic capital arise. The participants of Bessa's (2013) dissertation research reported a divided self between the two cultures communicated as a sense of attachment to both cultures, a sense of alienation from both cultures, and as an allusion to the transformative power of knowledge, whereby knowing a second culture makes one unable to fully return home. Most of the participants in the present study talked about a paradoxical sense of simultaneous attachment and otherness in similar ways. Though the main themes that emerged from the qualitative interviews in her study were sense of legitimacy and belonging in terms of documentation status (not a primary issue shared by the present study's participants), Bessa (2013) also highlighted the issue of self-definition in terms of race and class in a cultural context which recognizes race as a binary construct echoed by Fernanda and Daniel in their interviews.

Kinginger (2009) adds that because sojourners live and move about the world from the periphery of host communities, the discovery that their identities are interpreted in unfamiliar or inaccurate ways can create feelings of great ambivalence and they may "struggle to reconcile differences between their own practices and those of their host community" (p. 183). This phenomenon appeared in Camila and Eduardo's interviews. Kinginger (2009) also mentions that unlike immigrants, sojourners who do not reside in the host context enter their new communities

with the understanding that they will or likely will return home. Because of this knowledge, they have the choice to opt out of acculturation and language socialization in favor of renewed affiliation with their home societies. Though not directly addressed in any of the interviews with the participants in the present study, for some, it potentially was an assumption that had an impact on how much they acculturated (or not) to the host community as well as experienced dysphoria (or not) in their reentries.

Bessa's (2013) research also revealed comparable coping strategies her participants used during the acculturation process, including finding dignity and purpose, utilizing work both to reach their goals, and leaning on their faith. Many of the current participants discussed similar strategies not just for coping, but also for creating a context for their L2 usage. Another principal theme in Bessa's research was the participants' ongoing processes of negotiating relationships. Like Fernanda, Carlos, and Isabela, her participants pointed to a "lack of solidarity" in the Brazilian community and a frustration with their compatriots in general, though the former did not go into the same amount of detail. As in Bessa's (2013) research, religious and other communities were important in terms of identity negotiation and definition for the participants in the present study. In terms of the reentry, participants of the present study maintained similar coping/identity negotiation strategies, while creating other strategies for the purpose of re-acculturation while maintaining L2 use. Examples of these are expressly related to the renegotiation of new symbolic capital of having gone abroad and solidified one's English. Coping strategies included mitigating negative responses to English use in social interactions by silence and avoidance, as well as using English only in intimate relationships.

Mobility capital becomes symbolic capital. When the Brazilian ELLs of the current study returned home, the symbolic capital communicated through English, and the language ideologies

that inform it, operate through different mechanisms than before or during the sojourn experience. This change is related to the very ability of the participants to leave and come back. Kinginger (2009) talks about Murphy-Lejeune's (2002) project exploring European students studying abroad found that the participants became a kind of "migratory elite," benefiting from considerable "mobility capital"—the opportunity to enhance their skills through the richness of the international experience gained by living abroad (p. 51). Mobility capital is defined by Murphy-Lejeune in terms of family and history, previous experience, and personality features, most notably multilingualism. Many of the students in the study came from families of mixed language heritage and had also experienced frequent travel abroad, developing specific attitudes and capacities relevant to living abroad, such as independence and lack of fear when speaking a second language.

The idea of mobility capital can be related to the participants of the present study, though from a different angle. Indeed, though Camila's and possibly Aline's experiences match up neatly with that of Murphy-Lejeune's participants, most of the participants did not enjoy the same type of "mobility capital" in that they were the first sojourners of their families, or because their sojourns were journeys of necessity more than to participate in a European project of internationalization in education programming. It seems that in the present case, mobility capital is closely linked with type of sojourn and socioeconomic class in Brazil. In what I will call "legitimate" cases (as perceived by structures of power), Brazilians go abroad to work, study, or be with family with legal immigration status, in "illegitimate" cases, they go abroad primarily to work abroad without documentation. All the participants of the present study participated in "legitimate" sojourns. However, as seen in Bessa's (2013) research on populations without documented status were not explored. Living abroad to work and study in a "legitimate" capacity

require different levels of English skills, but they also require special access to those resources from Brazil. For Isabela and Eduardo, and Livia, this was through their connections to family members who had permanently or long-term established themselves abroad. For Elena, Daniel, Camila, Carlos, Aline, and Lucas, their sojourn was made possible hrough an admissions process and student immigrant status, along with financial support from the government (Fernanda and Daniel), or their parents (Aline, Lucas, and Eva).

When they returned to Brazil, this access and opportunity determined a shift in status, to which members of their home network reacted differently. Because the ability to go abroad is not possible for many Brazilians, the mobility capital of the participants to go on "legitimate" sojourns and return signals independence and the freedom to escape the hardships facing Brazil during the present economic crisis. Whereas undocumented Brazilians may be able to escape deportation and succeed in supporting their families from afar for years at a time, this mobility is greatly limited. Though many of the participants expressed a desire to live abroad permanently, when they do return, their reentry represents the privilege of not *needing* to stay abroad (as Fernanda notes), based on the assumption that completing their studies or gaining work experience in an English environment will automatically qualify them for higher paying jobs. As many of the participants pointed out, these assumptions carry over into ideologies about language learning itself, posing that unless the ELL studies, lives, or works abroad for an extended period, the language cannot be learned in the first place.

In consideration of these observations, I propose that the idea of mobility capital in the present study is two-fold: (1) mobility is made possible by rare connections with familial, financial, or programmatic resources, and (2) mobility capital becomes symbolic capital, particularly when the sojourners return from their tenures abroad. As we have seen up to this

point, access to even an imagined identity in English may be halted if the learner does not believe they will ever have access to mobility capital. This finding conforms to Norton's understandings of identity and investment in a new (g)localized context.

Hybridized and cosmopolitan identities contested at home and abroad. Experiences informed by the differences in languages and the ideologies that arise out of these experiences are especially visible in multilingual contexts where some languages and identity options are contested. The role of language in identity negotiation at the intersection of inequality between individuals, majority and minority groups, and between institutions and those they are supposed to serve has been one of the main foci of this thesis. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) claim: "the construction and performance of identities occurs across contexts, but the negotiation of identities takes place only when certain identities are contested" (2012, p. 20). They propose a framework of three types of identities: Imposed identities (not negotiable in a particular time and place), assumed identities (accepted and not negotiated), and negotiable identities (which are contested by groups and individuals). They propose adopting 'positioning theory' (Davies & Harré, 1990), to look at identities as being located in discourses and as situated in narratives. Positioning, for Davies and Harré (1990) is the process by which selves are jointly participate in and produce narratives through communication. Interactive positioning assumes one of individual positioning the other, while reflective positioning is the process of positioning oneself.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) state that while agency and choice play a role in positioning, "reflective positioning is often contested by others and many individuals find themselves in a perpetual tension between self-chosen identities and others' attempts to position them differently" (p. 20). They explain that the negotiation of identities is an "interplay between reflective positioning, i.e. self-representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt

to position or reposition particular individuals or groups" (p. 20). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) further argue that this occurs in linguistic practices such as "code-switching and code-mixing, invention and use of new linguistic varieties, second language learning, literacy learning, appropriation of new rhetorical strategies, and creation of new identity narratives," which individuals and minority groups may appropriate or invent to position and reposition themselves (p. 17). The primary questions at issue of the present study are how and why the Brazilian ELL participants positioned themselves in different contexts, and how they felt about the ways they positioned themselves, ultimately discovering the negotiations of their identities across time and space.

Because they are rooted in increasingly and recognizably hybridizing cultural spaces, identities have a tendency to shift (Sobré-Denton, 2012). The shifting that occurs through a process of negotiation is in a context where the interlocutors (both sojourners and their relatives, friends, and acquaintances who stayed behind) reposition themselves from an assumption of change and transformation rather than solidarity or shared experience. Though Sung's (2014) study found that ELL learners displayed different degrees of affiliations with their local and global identities in ELF communication in a pre-sojourn context, most research related to this transitional renegotiation of identities is explicitly connected to sojourns and reentry, an area of research that has grown in recent years. One of the most common reactions to positioning and renegotiation is Cosmopolitanism, or a state of "identity without borders" that is accessible to those who engage in regular negotiations of multiple cultural spaces and the subsequent identity processing of such experiences (Hannerz, 1996).

Sobré-Denton (2012) argues that where multiculturalism preserves inherent differences in pluralistic societies (nation-states), cosmopolitanism attempts to bridge them. Cosmopolitanism

is inextricably tied to language and language ideologies because it centers on the ways individuals negotiate their identities through relationships with members of their home cultures, as well as the spaces through which they travel, live, and leave pieces of themselves. Most of the participants of this study talked about their identity negotiations in this way—by communicating simultaneously from global and local perspectives, representing a dialectical tension, and "holding two contradictory ideas simultaneously" (p. 114). As seen in some participants' narratives, their cosmopolitan identities "exist in a communicative space of constant tension, between belonging and isolation, between privilege and disadvantage, between self-exploration and other-orientation," which was brought to the surface through dialogue—whether with the researcher or with others at home and abroad (p. 106). Sobré-Denton proposes that that globalization is symbiotic with cosmopolitanism because the shifts can occur when crossing physical or cultural borders, which connects cosmopolitan identities to imagined, linguistic ones. Similarly, though an individual may have an opportunity to travel and may have mobility capital, they do not necessarily develop a cosmopolitan identity, intercultural competence, or acquire the other language.

Sobré-Denton (2012) also reminds us that these negotiations are connected to issues of systemic power. An openness to the world along with the desire for connection with others results in cosmopolitans creating dialogic spaces that move beyond ethnocentricity and monolingualism, particularly as they relate to the home culture. For example, Fernanda and Daniel's cosmopolitanism allowed them to rethink their roles in subverting racism in Brazil by using new language and personal narratives to have a conversation about that prejudice in the first place. Camila and Daniel carried this over into the ways they began to engage with others about gender issues in Brazil as well. Such efforts are not always positively received, as Camila

illustrated in her narrative. Saito (2017) confirms this reality by noting that dominant discourses about a language or culture can "intermediate in the reproduction of modes of perception, behavior, and identity as these relate to language policy" and how a "cosmopolitan repertoire" (available to some through English language learning) is at odds with this.

As in Bessa's (2013) and Eguchi and Baig's (2017) studies, the participants perform multiplicity, cosmopolitanism, hybridity and in-betweenness to different degrees and in different ways as a part of their reentry positioning. But as a result of experiencing these, so too are they compelled to critically reflect on their positionalities, identities, and experiences when the language they use to perform them is contested as Diversi and Moreira (2016), Pavlenko (1998), and Hoffman (1989) describe.

Theory about hybridized and/or Cosmpolitan identities is also closely related to Intercultural competence (ICC), or the intercultural attitudes and cultural knowledge needed for successful intercultural communication (Byram, 1997). In Jackson's (2010) study of four female Hong Kong study abroad students who went to an English-speaking country, who she calls the most "ethnorelative" students exhibited curiosity, openness to new experiences, tolerance for ambiguity, empathy, an adaptive spirit, respect and awareness of cultural differences, resilience, flexibility, a critical, reflective nature, a sense of humor, and patience. She noted that these intercultural speakers were more actively engaged in critical cultural reflection and analysis, particularly as they related to maintaining intercultural relationships or interactions. The present study on Brazilian sojourners reveals similar findings. Most of the participants self-identified many the traits above as part of their narratives or expressed their desire to exhibit them in their daily lives in Brazil or abroad in the future.

The participants of both studies also represented a spectrum of "ethnorelativity" depending on a variety of factors, named or unnamed. As seen in Norton's research, in which L2 learners' investments and identities related to relations of power according to context, Jackson (2010) found the investment and identities of L2 sojourners were variable and linked to the choices they make (e.g., degree of intercultural contact/"languaging") as well as contextual factors (e.g., host receptivity), which were also noted in the participant's narratives. The findings also link access, power, and agency to the integral role in the "intercultural adjustment, sensitivity, and competence" of L2 sojourners abroad, as found in Jackson (2010, p. 192), but also in the home context in terms of symbolic mobility capital and access to a global identity, as described in the results of the current study.

Summary of Major Findings

Before looking into the major theoretical and pedagogical implications of the research, I will briefly conclude Chapter IV by summarizing the major findings by parts.

1. The English Paradox: EFL language learning in Brazil is highly contested, particularly because formal learning contexts are seen as inhibiting SLA. The cultural and pedagogical emphasis on English as symbolic capital or a potential communicative tool, yet removed from relevant daily use as interpersonal or intercultural exchange makes it difficult for Brazilian ELLs to learn about the language as a cultural hermeneutic. The intersection of these realities complicate Brazilian ELLs' processes of forming imagined identities in English both in the absence of the opportunity to go abroad as well as in the postsojourn reentry.
2. Strategies of identity (re)negotiation and (re)construction: The Brazilian ELL participants used a plethora of strategies for identity negotiation for a variety of

contexts and purposes. These strategies ranged from personal L2 practices through engagement with cultural products like music and film, to relationship building and maintenance, to language use awareness and self-reflection. The strategies that emerged from the interviews differed in terms of degree of consciousness of strategy use depending on context, and relate to the participants' individual self-concepts and/or their social identities. Participants found difficulty in balancing these strategies in their reentry because of the complicated psychosocial reactions or beliefs in Brazil about English and what it means to be able to engage in a linguistic sojourn abroad regardless of class and region.

3. Metacognitive descriptions of identity processes: The Brazilian ELL participants used varying metaphors to describe their identity/ies or process(es) of identity change. Metaphors of separation, difference, and division of selves for different linguistic or cultural concepts revealed participants' emphases on transformation and adaptability. These included using languages as "stepping stones" or changing "who I am and how I see the world" (among others). Metaphors of integration to describe varying experiences and acquired traits into one singular self revealed emphases on integrity and reacculturation to the home context. These included: a language "adding to me" or being "absorbed into me" and "my "identity did not change; my values remained the same, but I expanded" (among others). Many participants used both types concurrently in their narratives. It is possible that the participants view their linguistic identities as more additive language and cultural identification rather than outright biculturalism, particularly given the exigency of the post-sojourn sociocultural context.

4. A New Critical Understanding: The Brazilian ELL participants identified key moments in their L2 acquistion processes pre, during, and postsojourn, and reflected on the role and meaning of their English use and self-concept as an English speaker for their continuing reentry or future returns abroad. They identified new meanings in their understanding of identity and language as individuals and as members of social groups by reflecting on their experiences and observations. Participants who emphasized in-betweenness or interculturality struggled to negotiate the performance of their imagined identity/ies in English in the reentry (particularly seen in the narratives of Eduardo, Camila, and Elena). Participants who prioritized a reacculturative positionality (in Brazil) underscored the value of the sojourn as a life experience and social relationships with other Brazilians, with special attention to acknowledging their relative privilege in terms of mobility capital and intercultural-linguistic competence (particularly seen in the narratives of Aline, Fernanda, and Livia). In either case, Brazilians in the participants' social networks perceived them differently after the sojourn and interacted with them differently accordingly (both negatively and positively). Most participants emphasized both perspectives at different points throughout their interviews.

Chapter V: Conclusion

Ilha do Norte onde não sei se por sorte ou por castigo

dei de parar por algum tempo

Que afinal passou depressa, como tudo tem de passar

Hoje eu me sinto como se ter ido fosse necessário para voltar

Tanto mais vivo de vida mais vivida, dividida pra lá e pra cá

[Island of the North where I don't know if it were out of luck or punishment

I was made to stop for some time

Which in the end passed quickly, as all things must pass

Today I feel as if the going made it necessary for me to return

That much more alive from living a life more lived, divided between here and there]

(- Gilberto Gil)

The present study sought to answer the research questions: (1) What strategies do adult English language learners use to form and negotiate imagined L2 identities and imagined L2 communities in formal and informal sites of language learning? and (2) How do ELLs from Brazil understand and view the negotiation of their imagined L2 identities in global and localized contexts? In brief terms, the participants used a wide variety of socially and individually-focused strategies to negotiate their linguistic identities in both formal and informal contexts of L2 use abroad and at home in Brazil. Similarly, the participants viewed their identity negotiations in unique ways as individuals, but sharing common understandings such as an additive, positive perspective on the cultural capital afforded to them by their experiences abroad and by virtue of being deemed "proficient" in English by their fellow Brazilians upon return home. They also posited complex feelings surrounding their "in-betweenness" and experiences that came with

their reacculturation processes given the language ideologies surrounding English as well as the mobility capital they possess as a result of their sojourns abroad.

The preceding epigraph to this chapter serves as a kind of bookend to the opening of this thesis. As mentioned in the introduction, many artists, educators, students, and organizers were subjected to various kinds of persecution—torture, imprisonment, assassination, and exile—during the Vargas dictatorship of the 1970s-80s in Brazil. Two titans of MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil were subject to exile in the United Kingdom because of political and cultural subversion of the regime through music (Veloso, 2002). I will end with this verse from Gilberto Gil's triumphant "Back in Bahia," written upon return home from exile in 1972 (Veloso, 2002), because it points to some of the essential questions of crossing borders. If resilience is a key underlying feature of Brazilian national identity, it is because the long history of paradoxes has required it. Caught between partaking in global economic, political and cultural projects and negotiating the panethnic world within, leaving and returning to Brazil requires the same amount of spirit as surviving its domestic hardships.

This resilience appears differently in kind and degree between sojourners, but the core competency remains the same, how does one negotiate the division of self between contexts with the knowledge that even with all the cultural and linguistic knowledge possibly gleaned, that self is still beholden to individuals, groups and structures that complicate personal agency. When we cross borders, physical or metaphorical, by choice or force, we must balance multiple realities as truth—a skill that is indivisible from language. Writer Julia Kristeva (1986) claims that writing, and what I argue by logical extension would include any kind of languaging, emerges as much from exile as from participating in social conversation. She poses: "How can one avoid sinking into the mire of common sense if not by becoming a stranger to one's own country, language,

sex and identity? [Languaging] is impossible without some kind of exile" (p. 298). Unlike Gil and Veloso's very real forced exit, Kristeva's "critical exile" doesn't mean banishment or alienation; it means the creation of a space to reflect on and struggle with languaging and meaning as it relates to our sense(s) of self/ves. Through this process, the language user not only questions received knowledge and social norms, but transforms them. Exile becomes a means for one to speak and act in the world rather than be spoken for and acted upon. This distance also constitutes Bhabha's (1994) in-between, "third space" which provides the "terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood–singular or communal–that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation" (p. 2).

Before looking at the final conclusions, I would like to share some of the common observations reflected in the post-interview questions posed at the end of the conversation about identities, experiences, strategies, and feelings surrounding English of the participants. All the particpants except Fernanda and Daniel responded with the realization that they hadn't thought about or discussed the topics of the interview frequently, if at all. Some commented that this was maybe a result of them trying to readapt to their life in Brazil or that so much time had passed since their return home, while others were unsure why it was not an issue of greater focus. It is also possible that had they attempted to debrief these experiences and changes with others who had not shared similar opportunities to go abroad or even access "private school English," their reflections would not have had any relevance or meaning, and could have created negative relational consequences, as was pointed out by some of the participants in their interviews.

Many also said that they hadn't thought about the connection between language and identity before, and that the interview and conversation changed how they thought about this relationship as a result. Most concurred that they plan to think more about this relationship in the

future and that reflection about such areas is important and was important, given that they didn't have many opportunities to do so in their daily lives. Nearly all the participants commented that the interview made them feel "good" or "comfortable," though a few mentioned that these subjects made them feel bittersweet or strange because they relived many important memories from new, directed angles guided by the questions. The depth and enthusiasm the participants brought to the interviews indicate it was likely only one instance of critical distance in a lifetime of contemplative and engaged language performances.

When I set out to discover about sojourning language learners' identities at the beginning of this project, I was excited to see how similar and how different my participants' experiences learning English as a FL or SL were from my own language acquisition processes in terms of re-forming the self and thinking about what that means from a critically reflective lens. I was interested in looking at how relations of power, expectations, and ideologies about language and cultures informed language learning processes in encounters abroad and at home. The research questions developed for this thesis sought to follow Norton's theoretical framework of imagined identities/communities and investment, by exploring Brazilian ELL experiences in the intersection of global and local sociolinguistic contexts in formal and informal language learning environments, and investigate the strategies that these learners use to negotiate and critically reflect about the negotiation of their identities. Framing the research around what learners do to negotiate constructs and expectations of cultural or symbolic capital as well as how they feel about those negotiations in a reentry context offers potential insights for thinking about how these narratives may impact pedagogical practice and language policy.

The present study confirms past research in six important ways. First, acculturation has been proven to be a multidimensional and individualized process that often shifts over time and

space. Second, the findings also suggest that the individualized process of identity (re)negotiation does not only involve differences in the strategies Brazilian ELLs use to construct or negotiate their L2 identity(ies), but also differences in their narratives and the meaning and metacognitive terminology they ascribe to their experiences, or metalanguaging. Fourth, the findings confirm previous understandings of the status and view of English in Brazil as a paradoxical FL that has divergent symbolic and cultural meanings, as well as the effect of these beliefs on the investment in and organization of formal systems of English language learning in Brazil and abroad (Carazzai, 2013; Diniz de Figueiredo, 2017; Montes, 2016; Rajagopalan & Rajagopalan, 2005; and others). Fifth, the current study is consistent with past research (Bessa, 2013; Kinginger, 2009; Norton, 2010; and others) which indicates that Brazilian sojourners encounter new types of social, cultural, and symbolic capital when they learn English abroad, which challenges their sense of self. Sixth, it points to the complex, contested relationship that Brazilian sojourners have with their racial identities, levels of education, and socioeconomic status, which supports and adds to previous literature on the subject (as discussed in the Literature Review).

The current study proposes that future research should examine similar reentry contexts in which English and the language ideologies surrounding it have a place in the discourse of Kachru's (2005) expanding circle countries, while using methods and methodologies that acknowledge and are informed by hybridized "languaging" processes as future area in poststructuralist research on identity.

Limitations of the Study

Given the highly individualized nature of the strategies and beliefs Brazilian ELLs hold about identity (re)construction/(re)negotiation at home and abroad, the findings from this study

cannot suggest universally applicable answers. Because of this, I will discuss some limitations of my study as well as suggestions for further research. The first limitation relates to participant sample size and composition. Due to time constraints and research design, I could only concentrate on ten participants. Given the assumption that identities are composed of sociocultural aspects, multiple and hybridized, and subject to change constantly and dynamically, the findings should not be generalized to other Brazilian ELLs, or set in stone for the participants in the study. Given that the data was generated from a single, though extensive, interview**,** the analysis could have possibly benefitted from more contact with participants, either via follow-up interviews, written correspondence or some other means, as occurred in Carazzai (2013), Norton (2010), Bessa (2013), and others. More research is necessary to understand post-sojourn English language learners' identities in Brazil across contexts and time. As has been conducted in other studies in the past, it may be beneficial to conduct follow-up interviews with new questions at some point in the future, depending on participant availability and interest.

A second limitation is a probable existence of a wide variety in participant profiles and English language learning experiences. Given the wide range in identity-determinant categories such as age, place of residence, socioeconomic status, educational level, and time/purpose of sojourn abroad, it was difficult to isolate specific strategies across learner narratives. Perhaps with a more diverse but limited number in the pool or by selecting participants according to stricter criteria, clearer, more reliable results could have been yielded. By focusing on any one of these variables, some of the findings relating to context may be substantiated or proven to be individual anomalies through further research.

A third possible limitation relates to the theoretical framework I used. In my study I followed theories of identity and language learning which were developed based on

investigations carried out in ESL or EFL contexts (Norton, 1997, 2001; and others). Because my study focused particularly on the post-sojourn context, I needed to link Norton's (and others') concepts to additional theories that addressed reentry because while analyzing my data I could see that context played an important role in students' identities. My data also revealed that even though poststructuralist theories view identity as largely related to struggle and conflicting claims to truth and power (Norton & Morgan, 2013; Weedon, 1997), in my participants' stories there was a tendency to suppress struggles and to value the possibility to overcome difficulties and marginalization. In this way, I understand that it is necessary further investigation is necessary, as is theorization on identity and language learning in Brazil as an outer-circle country, taking further local issues into consideration by limiting the variables of analysis.

A final limitation of my study is related to the way I analyzed my data. Since the beginning of my study, I decided that I wanted to allow participants to give their narratives in their language(s) of choice, focusing on content rather than form as a point of analysis. I also navigated through the interviews from a very phenomenological perspective, as I opted to share many of my own experiences as a way of helping participants to unlock their own observations. Both of these aspects, as well as the difficult language used to frame "identity negotiation strategies" and "metacognitive processes about identity change" may have had an impact on the results and quality of analysis. Nevertheless, I still consider my approach to the study as a critically-centered one, since it took innovative poststructuralist approaches to examining identity and language learning. In this way, I would like to suggest that other studies on identity and language learning could follow the same methodological approach so as to give participants the chance to experience the "critical exile" or reflective potential of participating in research about language and identity.

Theoretical Implications

Views of identity. Anthias (2013) states that: "intersectionality does not refer to a unitary framework but a range of positions, and that essentially it is a heuristic device for understanding boundaries and hierarchies of social life" (p. 508). Block and Corona (2016) point out a common understanding among researchers that acknowledges the pitfalls of identity research—focusing on a singular aspect of identity rather than intersectionality, hybridity or multiplicity. They also observe that where researchers do address identity dimensions simultaneously, the analysis of the intersection of these does not go deep enough. In other words, it is not enough to say that race and gender are "important heuristics for understanding the life of experiences of an individual; there needs to be some discussion of how they are interdependent and how they interrelate in emergent social contexts" (p. 509). As Norton (2010) and others teach us, these "emergent social contexts" are controlled by relations of power. The present thesis has attempted to use this principle as an assumption in both the research design and data collection.

Views of language. This thesis has centered around English as global language. As the movement of people and ideas only increases in the digital age, the bits of language that are globalized are also units of meaning that communicate culture and society. If we want to understand language globalization, and the ideologies that accompany it, we need to look at "larger semiotic and cultural packages from a historical," contextualized view (Rubdy & Alsagoff, 2013, p. 15). This study offers this new integral view of language hybridity in which transcultural and transnational communication practices are constantly negotiated in interactions of differential power, even in terms of the ways multilingual contexts or subjects are studied in the field of linguistics. By addressing the complexity of the relationships between identity and language, I have attempted to explore new ways of studying hybridity within the global-local

dialectic, particularly as it relates to language learners who are constantly in search of new social and linguistic resources across borders and contexts "to produce new identities, and assign alternative meanings to the links between identities and linguistic varieties" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 21). This is perhaps best observed in my analysis of the language participants used to describe identity change processes as metacognitive identity narrative metaphors or metalanguaging.

Pedagogical Implications

Because of the focus of the research on the impact of informal learning contexts on L2 identity formation/negotiation and acquisition as well as the strategies that are employed by learners to negotiate them, many of the pedagogical implications of the study suggest further and more quality integration and discussion of these kinds of learning modes and programs in tandem with formal (language) learning environments. The resounding positive response to having been able to participate in a sojourn abroad in terms of personal growth and linguistic development point to the recommendation that study or work abroad programs could be expanded and further developed as learning tools with more attention to the design of language learning opportunities.

Another suggestion of the findings corresponds to integrating content, media, or activities that are found in informal language learning contexts into formal ones. For example, encouraging independent second language cultural product consumption (watching series, actively listening to music, joining L2 conversation groups in social settings) could be tied to language-learning curriculums in a variety of institutional contexts. Likewise, better integration of technology and social media into language learners' regular L2 use and performance could supplement the inability to travel abroad or have contact with fellow target language speakers.

Another pedagogical implication of the present study is rethinking post-sojourn pedagogical practices. Many study-abroad programs may require a course or other program in preparation for the sojourn experience, but often do not meet up with sojourners when they have returned home. To maximize the sojourn experience and promote further learning, home institutions should provide opportunities for returnees to make sense of their discoveries and extend their learning (Jackson, 2010). Jackson suggests that there are several ways to accomplish the hard work of critical self-reflection in the reentry process. During a debriefing period shortly upon return, students can complete open-ended surveys, journal-writing, blogs, and discussions. Institutions can require reentry courses to returnees, in which content may include intercultural communication theories, models of culture shock and adjustment, readjustment issues, and identity development models (Jackson, 2010). Other ways of engaging critical reflection about the sojourn could include creating designated digital resources for sojourners to connect online and share their experiences as well as assist reflection through guided questions about language and identity centering around "critical incidents" or experiences that put preconceived notions or assumptions of identity into doubt abroad and at home.

Finally, the most important pedagogical implication of the present study is the confirmation of Norton (and others') research signaling the complex factors and responses language learners have to negotiate in L2 use and performance, inside or outside the language classroom. Language learner imagined identities and investments in the target language differ between individuals and within the same individual over the course of a lifetime due to a multitude of factors, many of which, may never be revealed to the learner themselves. Though language learners are acutely aware of the social implications of their language use across contexts, and of how particular languages fall in the hierarchy of the symbolic capital, they often

do not have the opportunity to look at this structure critically during their language acquisition process, and in so doing may lose the kind of agency they may have sought by learning the target language in the first place. This assumption should be central in a language teacher's planning processes in the classroom as much as in educational or language planning and policy at a national or international levels.

Areas for Further Study

My study has demonstrated that Brazilian ELL returnees face complex social interactions upon return home, given the contestation of the symbolic capital associated of the English language. This finding alone could generate future sociolinguistic research beyond ELL identity negotiation strategies. Another area of research related to maintaining L2 identities in the home context after a sojourn could center around the digital interface. Many of the participants in the current study alluded to the importance of access to information and social networks in English through their daily internet use. Emerging global cultures and subcultures online may also reveal new sources for primary research that centers around discourse analysis or qualitative ethnographic or phenomenological methods.

Further, this research has revealed itself to be an inquiry in what Zhu (2015) and others call *metalanguaging*, or "talk about social, cultural and linguistic practices." This concept refers to explicit or inexplicit comments by participants about the degree of appropriateness of a social, cultural and linguistic behavior in specific contexts and can reveal how language users make their beliefs and orientations to cultures demonstrably known rather than leaving them as a matter of interpretation. Zhu (2015) argues that metalanguaging data is valuable because "the process of individuals trying to make sense of their world, in this case, language users reflecting on the linguistic performances by themselves as well as the others they are interacting with, is an

integral part of their cognitive processes surrounding the creative moment of action" (p. 115). Research should focus on the ways people articulate and position themselves in their metalanguaging to detect any changes in their self-reflection, themes and links that emerge from the narratives in addition to the content of the narratives themselves (Zhu, 2015). Zhu calls the potential for research in this area a "double hermeneutic," or a snapshot of how participants are trying to make sense of their world while the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying make sense of their world (Zhu, 2015). The results that came forth from the study demonstrate the wealth of knowledge that resides inside the minds of language learners negotiating their identities even many years (in some cases) after they were purposefully "learning the language" and had returned to the home context.

Additionally, critically reflective research about the type of investigation conducted on language and identity itself, as seen in Diversi and Moreira (2016) is an integral question for the future of applied linguistics and particularly Teaching English as a Second/Other Language (TESOL). Finally, investigations of sojourners' (both legitimate and illegitimate) reentries into non-English-speaking home contexts across the world, but particularly in outer-circle countries should be conducted as points of comparison for understanding the emerging role of global English. The present study provides a framework for related research on the contextual factors of linguistic identity renegotiation/formation for sojourning language learners from a poststructuralist perspective.

Final Thoughts

Bhabha (1994) claims that "what is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences" (pp. 1-2). The

work of “thinking beyond” subjectivities requires a purposeful loss of self, if only to better understand one’s miniscule and yet meaningful presence in the complexity of existence. Because language is one the most profound modes of performance available to us, learning another linguistic system can be a way to lose ourselves in hope of finding some answers for our deepest longing for meaning and connection. Losing oneself at the crossroads by learning another language requires great courage, but can also return great, unquantifiable rewards. When I first tried reaching out into those cultural differences as a second language learner, I was pulled up by others despite misgivings, anxieties, and personal struggles. As a language teacher now, I try to create opportunities for learners to discover what it means for them to lose themselves, and to grow more comfortable in the complexity of finding one’s home in the world.

References

Almeida, R. L. T. de. (2012). The teaching of English as a foreign language in the context of Brazilian regular schools: A retrospective and prospective view of policies and practices. *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada, 2*(2), 331-348. http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S1984- 63982012000200006

Althusser, L. (1984). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In *Essays on ideology* (pp. 1-60). London: Verso.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. New York: Verso.

Anthias, F. (2013). Intersectional what? Social divisions, intersectionality and levels of analysis. *Ethnicities, 13*(1), 3-19. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796812463547

Araujo, M. R. (2015) *"If you have the word in Portuguese why are you going to use it in English?" Language ideologies of Brazilian Portugues speakers studying English as a foreign language in Cape Town*. (Masters Thesis). Faculty of the Humanities, University of Cape Town. (ARJMAG001).

Archanjo, R. (2017). *Moving globally to transform locally?* Academic Mobility and Language Policy in Brazil.

Baghin-Spinelli, D. C. M. (2002). *Ser professor (brasileiro) de línguainglesa: um estudo dos processos identitários nas práticas de ensino*. (Doctoral Dissertation). Instituto de Estudos Linguísticos UNICAMP Campinas.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination.* C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Barcelos, A. M. F. (1999). A cultura de aprender línguas (inglês) de alunos do curso de Letras. In J. C. P. de Almeida Filho (Ed.), *O professor de língua estrangeira em formação.* (pp. 157-178.) Campinas: Pontes.

Bartlett, L. (2007). Literacy, speech and shame: The cultural politics of literacy and language in Brazil. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *20*(5), 547-563.

Baxter, J. (2016). Positioning language and identity: Poststructuralist perspectives. In S. Preece (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and identity* (pp. 34-49). Abingdon: Routledge.

Berenblum, A. (2003). *A invenção da palavra oficial: Identidade, língua nacional e escola em tempos de globalização* [The invention of the official word: Identity, national language and education in times of globalization]. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. London, England: Penguin Books.

Benessaieh, A. (2010) Multiculturalism, interculturality, transculturality. In A. Benessaieh (Ed.), *Transcultural Americas* (pp. 11-38). Ottawa: Presses de l'universite d'Ottawa, paraitre.

Bessa, L. (2013). *Mulheres Brazucas: Identity negotiation in the immigration experience of Brazilian women.* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from UT Electronic Theses and Dissertations, University of Texas at Austin.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Block, D. (2007). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *The Modern Language Journal*, *91*, 863-876.

Block, D., & Corona, V. (2016). Intersectionality in language and identity research. In S. Preece (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and identity* (pp. 507-522). New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

Blommaert, J. (2003). Commentary: A sociolinguistics of globalization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 7*, 607-623 (Special issue, Sociolinguistics and Globalisation, N. Coupland, ed.)

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, *16*(6), 645-668.

Bourdieu, P. (1980). *The logic of practice*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Briggs, C. (2007). Anthropology, interviewing, and communicability in contemporary society. *Current Anthropology*, *48*, 551-567.

Brown, D. H. (1994) *Principles of language learning and teaching*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Regents.

Brydon, D., Monte Mor, W., & Menezes de Souza, L. M. (2010). Developing new literacies in cross-cultural contexts: Future directions for teaching English in Brazilian and global contexts. In M. C. Monteiro, N. Besner, & C. F. P. Nunez (Eds.), *Diálogos nas Américas-Brasil / Canadá: Culturas e literaturas /dialogues in the Americas-Brazil / Canada: Cultures and literatures* (pp. 13-30). Editora Caetés: Rio de Janeiro.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble*. New York: Routledge.

Byram, M. (1997). *Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Canagarajah, S. (2000). Negotiating ideologies through English: Strategies from the periphery. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Ideology, politics and language policies: Focus on English*. (pp. 121-132). The Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Canagarajah, S. (2004). Subversive identities, pedagogical safe houses, and critical learning. In B. Norton & K. Toohey (Eds.), *Critical pedagogies and language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Canagarajah, S. (2005). Dilemmas in planning English/vernacular relations in postcolonial communities. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 9*(3), 418-447.

Carazzai, M. R. (2013). The process of identity (re)construction of six Brazilian language learners: A poststructuralist ethnographic study. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/105150

Cavalcanti, M. C. (1999). Estudos sobre a educação bilíngüe e escolarização em contextos de minorias lingüísticas no Brasil. *D.E.L.T.A., 15*, 385-471.

Cavalcanti, M. C. & Silva, I. R. (2016). Transidiomatic practices in a deaf-hearing scenario and language ideologies. *Revista da ANPOLL, 40*, 33-45.

Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

Clarke, M. (1976). Second language acquisition as a clash of consciousness. *Language Learning, 26*, 377-390.

Cook, V. J. (1995). Multi-competence and the learning of many languages. *Language, Culture, and Curriculum*, 8(2), 93-98.

Cook, V. J. (2016). Premises of multi-competence. In V. J. Cook & Li Wei (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic multi-competence* (pp. 1-25). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corcoran, J. (2011). Power relations in Brazilian English language teaching. *International Journal, 5,* 1-26.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cummins, J. (2007). Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics/Revue canadienne de linguistique appliqué, 10,* 221-240.

Darvin, R. (2016). Language and identity in the digital age. In S. Preece (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and identity* (pp. 523-539). London: Routledge.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990) Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 20*(1), 43-63.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). *The landscape of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Derrida, J. (1982). *Margins of philosophy*. Bass, A. (trans.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dervin, F., & Risager, K. (Eds.). (2015). *Researching identity and interculturality*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315816883

Diniz de Figuereido, E. H. (2017). Conceptualizations of English in the discourses of Brazilian language teachers: Issues of mobility, empowerment and international ownership: An analysis of ideologies of English. *Brazilian ELT, English Today, 33*(2), 31-37. doi: 10.1017/S0266078416000602.

Diversi, M., & Moreira, C. (2016). *Betweener talk: Decolonizing knowledge production, pedagogy, and praxis.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

DJ MP4. (2000). The book is on the table. On *New Beat*. Brazil: Self-released.

Dörnyei, Z. (2009). The L2 motivational self system. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 Self.* (pp. 9-42). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Early, M., & Norton, B. (2012). Language learner stories and imagined identities. *Narrative Inquiry*, *22*(1), 194-201.

Eguchi, S., & Baig, N. (2017). Examining embodied struggles in cultural reentry through intersectional reflexivity. *Howard Journal of Communications*, *29*(1), 33-48. doi: 10.1080/10646175.2017.1315692

El-Dash, L. G., & Busnardo, J. (2001). Brazilian attitudes toward English: Dimensions of status and solidarity. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *11*(1), 57-74.

Erlacher, A. C. (2009). *Entre o herói e a vítima: Sobre a responsabilidade do professor no/peloensino de língua inglesa na escola pública*. (Masters Thesis). Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas.

Ferreira da Silva, M. (2010). To what extent is American English the most appropriate variety for Brazilian EFL state school students? *Brazilian ELT*, *1*(2), 159-171.

Finardi, K. (2014). The slaughter of Kachru's five sacred cows in Brazil: Affordances of the use of english as an international language. *Studies in English Language Teaching*, *2*(4). Retrieved from www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/selt

Fortes, L. (2015). The emergence of bilingual education discourse in Brazil: Bilingualisms, language policies, and globalizing circumstances. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. doi: 10.1080/13670050.20 15.1103207.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. C. Gordon (ed.). Harvester, London.

Friedrich, P. (2000) English in Brazil: Functions and attitudes. *World Englishes, 19*(2), 215-224.

Galante, A. (2015). Intercultural communicative competence in English language teaching: Towards validation of student identity. *BELT-Brazilian English Language Teaching Journal*, 6(1), 29-39.

Gallucci, S. (2013). Negotiating second-language identities in and through border crossing. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *44*(6), 916-937.

Gardner. R., & Lambert, W. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second language learning*. MA: Newbury House.

Gass, S. (1998). Apples and oranges: Or why apples are not oranges and don't need to be. A response to Firth and Wagner. *Modern Language Journal, 82*, 83-90.

Gearing, N., & Roger, P. (2017). 'I'm never going to be part of it': Identity, investment and learning Korean. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* pp. 1-14.

Giampapa, F. (2004). The politics of identity, representation, and the discourses of self-identification: Negotiating the periphery and the center. In Pavlenko & Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

Gil, G., & Oliveira, C. C. (2014). Investimento e comunidades imaginadas: uma análise das histórias de aprendizagem de Inglês como língua estrangeira na construção da identidade de alunos- professores da região de Açu, RN. In S. Reis (Org.). Londrina: Eduel.

Giles, H., & Byrne, J. (1982) An intergroup approach to second language acquisition. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 3(1), 17-41.

Gimenez, T. (2013). Ausência de políticas para o ensino da língua inglesa nos anos inciais de escolarização no Brasil. In C. Nicolaides, K. A. Silva, R. Tílio, & C. H. Rocha (Orgs.), *Política e políticas linguísticas* (pp. 199-218). Campinas: Pontes Editores.

Gimenez, T., Calvo, L. C. S., & El Kadri, M. S. (2011). Apresentação. In T. Gimenez; L. C. S. Calvo, & M. S. El Kadri (Orgs.). *Inglês como lingua franca: Ensino-aprendizagem e formação de professores* (pp. 07-16). Campinas: Pontes.

Gray, K. M., & Savicki, V. (2015). Study abroad reentry: Behavior, affect, and cultural distance. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, *26*, 264-278.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research: Theories and issues. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gumperz, J. (Ed.). (1982). *Language and social identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, J. K., Cheng, A., & Carlson, M. (2006). Reconceptualizing multicompetence as a theory of language knowledge. *Applied Linguistics*, *27*(2), 220-240.

Hannerz, U. (1996). *Transnational connections: Culture, people, places.* London: Routledge.

Hao, R. N. (2012). A critical review of intercultural communication research. In N. Bardhan & M. P. Orbe (Eds.), I*dentity research and communication: Intercultural reflections and future directions* (pp. 71-86). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Heller, M. (1995) Code-switching and the politics of language. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 158-174). Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hemming, P., & Madge, N. (2011). Researching children, youth and religion: Identity, complexity and agency. *Childhood*, *19*(1), 38-51.

Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2006). *The practice of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hoffman, E. (1989). *Lost in translation: a life in a new language*. New York: E. P. Dutton.

Jackson, J. (2010). *Intercultural journeys: From study to residence abroad*. Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jenkins, J. (2000). *The phonology of English as an international language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kachru, Y. (1985). Standards, codification, and sociolinguistic realm: the English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world* (pp. 11-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kachru, Y. (2005). Teaching and learning of world Englishes. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning* (pp. 155-173). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kamada, L. D. (2014). Contested and celebrated glocal hybrid identities of mixed-ethnic girls in Japan. In R. Rubdy & L. Alsagoff (Eds.), *The global-local interface and hybridity exploring language and identity* (pp. 247-264). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (Eds.). (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities [Special Issue]. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *2*(4).

Kearney, E. (2004). Negotiating identity as a beginning foreign language learner. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, *20*(1), 47-69.

Kim, Y. Y. (2001). *Becoming intercultural: An integrative theory of communication and crosscultural adaptation.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kinginger, C. (2004). Alice doesn't live here anymore: Foreign language learning and identity reconstruction. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 219-242). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kinginger, C. (2009). *Language learning and study abroad: A critical reading of research.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Krashen, S. D. (1985). *The Input Hypothesis: Issues and implications,* New York: Longman.

Kristeva, J. (1986). A new type of intellectual: The dissident. In T. Moi (Ed.), *The Kristeva reader* (pp. 292-300). New York: Columbia University Press.

Kubota, R. (2012). The politics of EIL: Toward border-crossing communication in and beyond English. In A. Matsuda (Ed.), *Principles and practices of teaching English as an international language* (pp. 55-69). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Lam, W. S. E. (2000). L2 literacy and the design of the self: A case study of a teenager writing on the internet. *TESOL Quarterly*, *34*(3), 457-482.

Lantolf, J., & Pavlenko, A. (2001). (S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity Theory: Understanding second language learners as people. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 141-158). London: Longman.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liberali, C. F., & Megale, A. H. (2016). Elite bilingual education in Brazil: An applied linguist's perspective. *Colombian Applied Linguistics Journal*, *18*(2), 95-108.

Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2002). Asking, listening, and telling. In M. H. Seawell & A. Carter (Eds.), *Qualitative communication research methods* (pp. 170-208). California: Sage Publications.

Longaray, E. A. (2005). Identidades em construção na sala de aula de língua estrangeira. (Unpublished MA thesis). Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul. Retrieved August 30, 2011, from http://www.lume.ufrgs.br/bitstream/handle/10183/10973/000468514.pdf?sequence=1.

Longaray, E. A. (2009). *Globalização, antiimperialismo e o ensino de inglês na era pós-moderna*. (Unpublished PhD dissertation). Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul. Retrieved August 30, 2011, from http://www.lume.ufrgs.br/bitstream/handle/10183/16893/000707 061.pdf?sequence=1

Margolis, M. (2013). *Goodbye, Brazil: Émigrés from the land of soccer and samba*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Marrow, H. (2003). To be or not to be (Hispanic or Latino): Brazilian racial and ethnic identity in the United States. *Ethnicities, 3*(4), 427-464. 10.1177/1468796803003004001

Menard-Warwick, J. (2009). *Gendered identities and immigrant language learning*. Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.

Mendoza, A. (2015). Transnational narratives and imagined futures of international graduate students in Canada. (Master's thesis). University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Mercer, S. (2011). *Towards an understanding of language learner self-concept*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Miccoli, L. (1997). Learning English aa a foreign language in Brasil: A joint investigation of learning experiences in a univesity classroom on going to the depth of learners'

classroom experinces. (Doctoral dissertation). Graduate Department of Education, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Mompean, A. R. (1997). Pronouncing English in Brazil. *The International Review of the English Language ET, 49*(13), 28-35.

Montes, A. (2016). English in Brazil: A sociolinguistic profile. *Journal of Pedagogy, Pluralism, and Practice, 8*(1), Article 4, 3-37.

Morgan, B., & Ramanathan, V. (2005). Critical literacies and language education: Global and local perspectives. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *25*, 151-169.

Mota Pereira, F. (2016) From non-cultural to intercultural principles: A proposal for English classes in Brazilian public schools. *Intercultural Education*, *27*(6), 577-586. doi: 10.1080/14675986.2016.1249634

Murray, G. (2011). Imagination, metacognition, and the L2 self in a self-access learning environment. In G. Murray, X. Gao, & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning* (pp. 75-90). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, *31*(3), 409-429.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Harlow, England: Longman/Pearson Education.

Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities, and the language classroom. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 159-171). Harlow, England: Pearson Education.

Norton, B. (2006). Identity as a sociocultural construct in second language education. *TESOL in Context* [Special Issue], *1*, 22-33.

Norton, B. (2008). Identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies. In J. Cenoz & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education, Volume 6: Knowledge about language* (2nd ed.; pp. 45-59). Springer Science.

Norton, B. (2010). Language and identity. In N. Hornberger & S. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education* (pp. 349-369). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B., & Morgan, B. (2013). Poststructuralism. In C. Chapelle (ed.), *Encyclopedia of applied linguistics*. Wiley-Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0924

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). Identity, language learning, and social change. *Language Teaching*, *44*(4), 412-446.

Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29, 931.

Nunan, D. (1992). *Research methods in language learning*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Orbe, M. P. (2002). Phenomenology as a co-cultural methodology: Spaces where once-muted voices can be heard. In T. A. McDonald, M. P. Orbe, & T. Ford Ahmed (Eds.), *Building diverse communities: Applications of communication research* (pp. 76-90). Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc.

Paiva, V. L. M. O. (1995). A língua inglesa aos olhos dos sambistas. *Signótica, 7*(7), 133-147.

Paiva, V. L. M. O., & Pagano, A. S. (2001). English in Brazil with an outlook on its function as a language of science. In A. Ulrich (Ed.), *The dominance of English as a language of science* (pp. 425-445). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pardue, D. (2004). “Writing in the margins”: Brazilian hip-hop as an educational project. *Anthropology and Education, 35,* 411-432.

Pavlenko, A. (1998). Second language learning by adults: Testimonies of bilingual writers. *Issues in Applied Linguistics,* 9(1), 3-19.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (Eds.). (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re) construction of selves. In J. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155-177). New York: Oxford University Press.

Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language teaching. In J. Cummins & C. Davison (Eds.), *International handbook of English language teaching*. New York: Springer.

Pennycook, A. (2007a). *Global Englishes and transcultural flows*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pennycook, A. (2007b). Language, localization, and the real: Hip-hop and the global spread of authenticity. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 6*(2), 101-115.

Pierson, L. L. (2006). Communicating ethnicity: A Phenomenological analysis of constructed identity. (Dissertation). College of Journalism and Mass Communications. Retrieved from: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/journalismdiss/1

Pratt, M. L. (1992). Arts in the contact zone. *Profession*, *91*, 33-40.

Rajagopalan, K. (2000). Critical pedagogy and linguistic imperialism in the EFL context. *TESOL Journal, 9,* 5-6.

Rajagopalan, K. (2001). ELT classroom as an arena for identity clashes. In M. Grigoletto & A. M. G. Carmagnani (Eds.), *English as a foreign language: Identity, practices, and textuality* (pp. 79-90). Sao Paulo: Humanitas.

Rajagopalan, K. (2003). The ambivalent role of English in Brazilian politics. *World Englishes, 22*(2), 91-101.

Rajagopalan, K. (2004). The concept of 'World English' and its implications for ELT. *ELT Journal*. *58*(2), 111-117.

Rajagopalan, K. (2008). The role of geopolitics in language planning and language politics in Brazil. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *9*(2), 179-192.

Rajagopalan, K. (2011). O "World English"–um fenômeno muito mal compreendido. In T. Gimenez, L. C. S. Calvo, & M. S. El Kadri (Orgs.), *Inglês como lingua franca: Ensino-aprendizagem e formação de professores* (pp. 45-57). Campinas: Pontes.

Rajagopalan, K., & Rajagopalan, C. (2005). The English language in Brazil—a boon or a bane? In G. Braine (Ed.), *Teaching English to the world: History, curriculum, and practice* (pp. 1-10). Abbingdon: Routledge.

Regis, H. F. (2013). English as a Lingua Franca (ELF): Cultural aspects in Brazilian EFL classes. (Bachelor's thesis). Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis.

Ricento, T. (2005). Considerations of identity in L2 Learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed), *Handbook of research on second language teaching and learning* (pp. 895-911). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Richards, J. C., & Schmidt, R. (2002). *Longman dictionary of language teaching and applied linguistics*. London: Longman.

Rottava, L., & da Silva, A. M. (2014). Language learning, identity and globalization: Learners of Brazilian Portuguese in England and learners of English and Spanish in Brazil. *Acta Scientiarum. Language and Culture, 36*(2), 171-181.

Rubdy, R., & Alsagoff, L. (Eds.). (2013). *The global-local interface, language choice and hybridity*. Bristol, United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters.

Saito, A. (2017). Going cosmopolitan, staying national: Identity construction in popular discourses on English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 27*(1), 263-285.

Saldana, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Saussure, F. (1916). *Course in general linguistics.* London: Duckworth.

Schumann, J. (1986) Research on the acculturation model for second language acquisition. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 7*(5), 379-439.

Seidlhofer, B. (2005). English as a lingua franca. *ELT Journal, 59*(4), 339-341.

Selby, R. (2008). Designing transformation in international education. In V. Savicki (Ed.), *Developing intercultural competence and transformation: Theory, practice and application in intercultural education* (pp. 1-10). Sterling, Virginia: Stylus.

Shahri, M. N. N. (2018). Constructing a voice in English as a foreign language: Identity and engagement. *TESOL Quarterly*, *52*(1), 85-109. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.373

Silva, J. F. (2013). *The construction of English teacher identity in Brazil: A study in Mato Grosso do Sul.* (Doctoral dissertation). Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis.

Sobré-Denton, M. (2012). Landscaping the rootless: Negotiating cosmopolitan identity in a globalizing world. In N. Bardhan & M. P. Orbe (Eds.), *Identity research and communication: Intercultural reflections and future directions* (pp. 101-118). New York, NY: Lexington Books.

Souza, A. (2016). Language and religious identities. In S. Preece (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of language and identity* (pp. 195-209). London: Routledge.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sung, C.C. M. (2014). Global, local or glocal? Identities of L2 learners in English as a Lingua Franca communication. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 27*(1), 43-57.

Szundy, P. T. C. (2016). The commodification of English in Brazilian public universities: Language ideologies entextualized in the scope of the program English without Borders. *Revista da Anpoll*, *40*(1), 101-114. Retrieved from https://revistadaanpoll.emnuvens.com.br/revista/article/viewFile/1020/850

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Talmy, S. (2010). The interview as collaborative achievement: Interaction, identity, and ideology in a speech event. *Applied Linguistics, 32*(1), 25-42. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/applin/amq027.

Tucker, R. E. (2001). Figure, ground, and presence: A phenomenology of meaning in rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 87*(4), 396-414.

Veloso, C. (2002). *Tropical truth: A story of music and revolution in Brazil*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Vygotsky, (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2004). Mind, language, and epistemology: Toward a language socialization paradigm for SLA. *The Modern Language Journal, 88,* 331-350.

Weedon, C. (1997). Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Westwood, M. J., Lawrence, W. S., & Paul, D. (1986). Preparing for re-entry; A program for the sojourning student. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling, 9,* 221-230.

Zhu, H. (2015) Interculturality: reconceptualising cultural memberships and identities through translanguaging practice. In F. Dervin & K. Risager (Eds.), *Researching identity and interculturality* (pp. 109-124). London, UK: Routledge Studies in Language and Intercultural Communication.

Appendix A: Result Tables for Demographc Questionnaire

Table 1

Demographic Information

Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	Years of English Study	Self-described Language Level	Current contexts of English Use	Other Languages Spoken
Isabela	29	F	Receptionist	2.5	Intermediate	Social, Personal Study; Reading	--
Daniel	27	M	Architect	2	Intermediate-Proficient	Social	French
Eduardo	28	M	Video Editor	12	Intermediate-Proficient	Work, Social, Intimate Relationship	--
Fernanda	23	F	Systems Analyst	4	Proficient	Work	Spanish

Carlos	34	M	Audiovisual Producer/editor	9.5	Proficient	Work, Study, Social	German
Camila	44	F	Executive Director of Jewish Nonprofit	12	Fluent	Work, Personal study, Social	Spanish, French, Hebrew
Aline	57	F	Social Worker	10	Fluent	Social	Hebrew
Elena	37	F	Engineer	25	Proficient	Work, personal study; reading, movies/series	--
Livia	52	F	Teacher	12	Intermediate	Social, Work	Hebrew
Lucas	25	M	Economist	10	Fluent	Travel, work, personal; reading	Hebrew, Spanish

Table 2

English Study Experience

Name	Title of English Class	Institution/location	Duration of Class
Isabela	1. Beginner 2. Beginner 3. Conversation	1. Coronel Siqueira de Moraes Public Elementary School (Jundiaí, Brazil) 2. Shelton Language School (Jundiaí, Brazil) 3. USA Life Institute (Orlando, FL, USA)	1. 3 years 2. 2 years 3. 6 months
Daniel	1. High School English 2. Private Class 3. Grammar Level 3 4. Listening/Speaking Level 4 5. Reading/Writing Level 4 6. Grammar Level 5	1. Public High School (Jundiaí, Brazil) 2. Campinas, Brazil 3. University of Kansas (USA) 4. University of Kansas (USA) 5. University of Kansas (USA) 6. University of Kansas (USA)	1. 3 years 2. 1 year 3. 3 months 4. 3 months 5. 3 months 6. 3 months
Eduardo	1. Beginner 2. Beginner 3. Intermediate 4. Conversation	1. Coronel Siqueira de Moraes Public Elementary School (Jundiaí, Brazil) 2. Wizard Language School (Jundiaí, Brazil) 3. Private classes (Jundiaí, Brazil) 4. Cultura Inglesa Language School (Jundiaí, Brazil)	1. 8 years 2. 3 years 3. 6 months 4. 3 months
Fernanda	1. Beginner 2. Intermediate 3. Tutoring Class	1. SESI (São Paulo, Brazil) 2. Western NM University (Silver City, NM, USA) 3. Private class (Silver City, NM, USA)	1. 6 months 2. 3 months 3. 3 months
Carlos	1. Beginner 2. Intermediate 3. Intermediate/Advanced	1. Private School (Jundiaí, Brazil) 2. Private Classes (Jundiaí, Brazil) 3. Language School (Calgary, AB, Canada)	1. 6 years 2. 3 years 3. 3 months
Camila	1. K-12 English 2. 1 year of School in USA 3. Beginner-Intermediate 4. Intermediate-Advanced 5. Intermediate-Advanced ESL 6. GRE Preparation Course	1. Private School (São Paulo, Brazil) 2. Elementary School, California 3. Private Classes (São Paulo, Brazil) 4. Cultural Inglesa (São Paulo, Brazil) 5. Language School (Bournemouth, UK) 6. Private Class (São Paulo, Brazil)	1. 12 years 2. 1 year 3. 4 years 4. 4 years 5. 1 month 6. 1 year
Aline	1. Beginner 2. Intermediate-Advanced	1. Brittania (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) 2. Brittania (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)	1. 3 years 2. 6 years
Elena	1. Beginner 2. Beginner-Intermediate 3. Advanced 4. MBA Executive	1. Eliezer Private School (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) 2. Ibeu Language School (Rio de Janeiro) 3. Texas A&M University Exchange Program (USA) 4. Rice University (USA	1. 12 years 2. 8 years 3. 1 year 4. 2 years
Livia	1. Beginner-Advanced 2. Beginner-Advanced 3. Intermediate	1. Max Nordau Private School (Rio de Janeiro) 2. Ibeu Language School (Rio de Janeiro) 3. UC Cincinatti (OH, USA)	1. 10 years 2. 10 years 3. 2 years
Lucas	1. Beginner-Advanced 2. Beginner-Advanced 3. Intermediate 4. Advanced	1. Eliezer Private School (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) 2. Brittania (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) 3. ILAC Toronto, Canada 4. UC Berkeley Exchange Program	1. 10 years 2. 10 years 3. 1.5 months 4. 6 months

Table 3

Abroad Experience in English-Speaking Country

Name	**Country**	**Purpose**	**Duration**
Isabela	USA	Tourism Study Work	6 months
Daniel	USA	Study	1.5 years
Eduardo	1. USA 2. USA 3. USA 4. USA 5. USA 6. USA 7. USA	Travel Tourism Family	1. 1 month 2. 2 months 3. 1 month 4. 6 months 5. 3 months 6. 3 months 7. 1 month
Fernanda	USA	Study	1.5 years
Carlos	Canada	Work Study	1 year
Camila	1. USA 2. USA 3. UK 4. USA 5. Israel/USA 6. USA	1. Study (family lived there) 2. Camp 3. Language Exchange 4. Camp 5. Tourism 6. Study, Work	1. 1 year 2. 1 month 3. 2 month 4. 2 month 5. 2 month 6. 8 years
Aline	1. USA 2. UK	1. Study 2. Study, travel	1. 6 months 2. 6 months
Elena	1. USA 2. USA 3. USA	1. Study 2. Work 3. Work, study	1. 1 year 2. 6 months 3. 4 years
Livia	USA	Study Family	4 years
Lucas	1. Canada 2. USA 3. UK 4. Ireland	1. Study 2. Study 3. Tourism 4. Tourism	1. 1.5 months 2. 6 months 3. 3 days 4. 3 days

Appendix B: Brief Participant Demographic/Language Learning Experience Inventory

Name_____

Age_____

Gender_____

Occupation_____

Years studying English_____

English Study Experience

Title of English Class (Ex. Beginning Level)	Institution (City/Country)	Duration of Class

Abroad experience in country where English was spoken

Country	Purpose (Travel/Tourism, work, study)	Duration

Current Use of English

Where do you use English now? (Work, study, social, etc.)

How would you describe your language level/proficiency in English? (fluent, proficient, intermediate, novice, etc.)

Interview Guide

Glossary of Terms

- Identity—the characteristics that define and determine your value as a person (as determined by yourself and others)
- Global Identity—An identity that is connected to other human beings in the world (regardless of nationality, ethnicity, religion, race, etc.)
- Global English—A view of the English as a lingua franca (international language)
- Language Context—A given situation in which a certain type of language is used
- Language Investment—The degree to which a person is committed to learning a language because of its value to them
- Codeswitching—The practice of alternating between two or more languages in a conversation

Interview Questions

1. Tell me about the people in Brazil who learn English.
2. Is learning English different than learning other foreign languages for Brazilians? How?
3. Tell me a bit about how, where, and when you learned English in Brazil and abroad.
4. What are your experiences with English outside of the classroom or workplace? For example, do you use English in social media, TV/Movies, music, etc.?
5. Tell me a story of an encounter with someone who spoke English, but you had difficulty understanding what they said. What happened?
6. Has learning English changed how you relate to, connect to, or communicate with people with other cultures/languages?

7. Has learning English changed how you relate to, connect to, or communicate with other Brazilians?
8. Talk a little bit about the kind of relationships have you made in your learning of English either in Brazil or abroad.
9. What are the instances that you use English now in Brazil? Do you use English words/phrases? Do you codeswitch?
10. Do you feel that your identity changed since you began learning English?
11. Do you perceive that others view or think of you differently?
12. How does your use of English affect how others view and talk about you?
13. Does your use of English affect the way you think and feel about yourself?
14. How do you think of yourself in relationship to the ideal English learner/speaker?

Appendix C: IRB Approval

ST. CLOUD STATE UNIVERSITY
EDUCATION FOR LIFE.

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

720 4th Avenue South AS 210, St. Cloud, MN 56301-4498

Name: Madeline Wildeson

Email: mrwildeson@stcloudstate.edu

IRB PROTOCOL DETERMINATION: Expedited Review-1

Project Title: Brazilian English – Language Learner Strategies for Forming and Negotiating Linguistic Identity

Advisor James Robinson

The Institutional Review Board has reviewed your protocol to conduct research involving human subjects. Your project has been: **APPROVED**

Please note the following important information concerning IRB projects:

- The principal investigator assumes the responsibilities for the protection of participants in this project. Any adverse events must be reported to the IRB as soon as possible (ex. research related injuries, harmful outcomes, significant withdrawal of subject population, etc.).

- For expedited or full board review, the principal investigator must submit a Continuing Review/Final Report form in advance of the expiration date indicated on this letter to report conclusion of the research or request an extension.

-Exempt review only requires the submission of a Continuing Review/Final Report form in advance of the expiration date indicated in this letter if an extension of time is needed.

- Approved consent forms display the official IRB stamp which documents approval and expiration dates. If a renewal is requested and approved, new consent forms will be officially stamped and reflect the new approval and expiration dates.

- The principal investigator must seek approval for any changes to the study (ex. research design, consent process, survey/interview instruments, funding source, etc.). The IRB reserves the right to review the research at any time.

If we can be of further assistance, feel free to contact the IRB at 320-308-4932 or email ResearchNow@stcloudstate.edu and please reference the SCSU IRB number when corresponding.

IRB Chair:

Dr. Benjamin Witts
Associate Professor- Applied Behavior Analysis
Department of Community Psychology,Counseling, and Family Therapy

IRB Institutional Official:

Dr. Latha Ramakrishnan
Interim Associate Provost for Research
Dean of Graduate Studies

OFFICE USE ONLY

SCSU IRB# 1791 - 2271	**Type:** Expedited Review-1	**Today's Date:** 3/2/2018
1st Year Approval Date: 3/2/2018	**2nd Year Approval Date:**	**3rd Year Approval Date:**
1st Year Expiration Date: 3/1/2019	**2nd Year Expiration Date:**	**3rd Year Expiration Date:**

Appendix D: Approved Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT

Project: Brazilian English-language Learner Strategies for Forming and Negotiating Linguistic Identity

Principal Investigator (PI)
Madeline Wildeson
mrwildeson@stcloudstate.edu

Faculty Advisor (FA)
James Robinson
jhrobinson@stcloudstate.edu

In this project, I will be looking to learn more about how you understand your identity and your experiences as an English language learner who has returned to Brazil. To do this, I invite you to participate in an interview, a pre-interview questionnaire and a brief, immediate post-interview follow-up in Portuguese or English.

The entire process should take (but is not limited to) less than 3 hours. You will not be tested in any way, and your participation will have no effect on the relationship with the researcher and/or performance any social, academic or professional realm. The interviews and questionnaire will help to show new perspectives about the role of identity in English language learning.

- Neither interview nor questionnaire is a test, and there is no personal risk.
- Your name will NOT be used in data analysis and report.
- Your participation is **voluntary**. You may withdraw any time.
- If you decide not to participate, it will NOT affect your relationship with the researcher.
- The result from the research will be presented or published; your name will NOT be used.
- The researcher will take notes during the interview and you will be audio recorded for ease and accuracy of post-interview analysis. This data will be securely stored on a private server and will not be shared.
- If you are interested in knowing about the results, please contact the PI. This information may be shared with you when it becomes available (See contact information above).
- There is NO reward, financial or otherwise, for your participation in the research project.

If you give your permission to use the data for research, please sign below.

Are you at least 18 years of age? **NO** ___ **YES** ___

If you answered NO, please stop. Thank you. If you answered YES, please continue.

Name in Print ..... _____

Date ..... _____

Signature ..... _____

St. Cloud State University
Institutional Review Board
Approval date: 3-2-2018
Expiration date: 3-1-2019